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SKETCHES AND RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY LITTLEWOOD AND CO.
15, OLD BAILEY.

SKETCHES

AND

RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

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WEST INDIES.

BY A RESIDENT.

I look to the gradual and safe abolition of slavery, in which not the *individual* should be set free, but the *state* itself should expire. CANNING.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY SMITH, ELDER, & CO.
65, CORNHILL.

1828.

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TO

JAMES LAING, ESQ.

OF STREATHAM HILL,

(Formerly of Dominica)

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE INSCRIBED,

AS A MARK OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY HIS OBLIGED,

AND GRATEFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

WHATSOEVER may throw light upon the existing state of our West Indian possessions — upon the relative situation of the white, black, and coloured population of the Colonies — upon the great question of slave emancipation — is at this moment an object of vital importance to the British community.

Under this impression, the following "Sketches and Recollections" are submitted to the public. It is the author's wish to render his intimate acquaintance with men and manners in the West Indies — an acquaintance derived from long personal observation and experience — conducive to the enlargement of that knowledge which alone can enable its possessor to form a *just* estimate of colonial slavery, of the measures in progress for its meliora-

tion, and of the probable effects of imparting, at too early a period, the boon of freedom to a yet uncivilized race.

The scenery and peculiar features of the West Indies, as well as the manners and customs of the people, the author has endeavoured to describe, *as he saw them, and judged of them, for himself.* The same objects will sometimes present different aspects to different minds; yet he hopes that, in the succeeding pages, the West Indian will be able to recognise features of the country he has lived in; and that the European, bound to the western world, will find in them such information respecting his destined residence, as may prevent him from feeling himself altogether a stranger in a distant land.

Previously to Buonaparte's subjugation of the European continent — to the period when a wider field for British valour was opened in the Peninsula — to the final expulsion of the conqueror from Spain, Russia, and France, by the superior prow-

ess of Wellington — the descent of the French upon Dominica, and the consequent destruction of Roseau, its capital, in 1805, were regarded as important events. No regular narrative of those events has hitherto been published. It is presumed, therefore, that "recollections" of them, by an eye-witness — by an humble but active participator in the defence of the colony — will prove gratifying to many individuals, and not unacceptable to the general reader. — The writer describes what he saw; he relates occurrences in which he bore a part, or which fell within the sphere of his actual observation. It has been his undeviating aim, "nothing to extenuate, or set down aught in malice."

His remarks, addressed to the different parties interested in the question of emancipation — on melioration there is no variance of sentiment — were dictated by a sincere desire to aid dispassionate inquiry, previously to any further exercise of legislation on a subject yet very imperfectly un-

derstood in England — a subject on which the Colonial Governments are decidedly opposed in opinion to the British Parliament — a subject in which the prosperity, the happiness, and probably the very existence of the Colonies are involved. Should the effort promote, even in the slightest degree, that temperance of discussion which may terminate in an adjustment of differences between the mother country and the colonies, it will yield the gratifying reflection to its author, that his little canoe was launched in time to convey its small but peaceful freight on board "THE UNITED KINGDOM."

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SKETCHES & RECOLLECTIONS

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VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC—ARRIVAL AT BARBADOS.

"My native land—Good night!"

BYRON.

To part, for the first time, from friends, from home,—that spot so dear to the recollection of every heart, is one of the most touching incidents in the ever-varying life of man. Yet it is one of every-day occurrence; and to the young, the hopes of glory and the stirrings of ambition soon impart relief. The last tear was shed, the last sigh was heaved, the last firm pressure of the hand was given, and I was left to look around me, to survey the ship, and the countenances of my fellow passengers, who also had parted from the dear objects of their affection and friendship, and bidden adieu to them, perhaps, for ever!—Sym-

pathy and good will soon prompted us to mutual civilities: several of them were of my own age, and, like myself, not long emerged from school, about to enter on the busy scenes of life. We were thus naturally attracted towards each other, by those vivid and strong emotions of the mind, which, after being fifty years in the world, are, alas! sought for in vain; and, in our voyage to the West Indies, I had the happiness of forming with them an intimacy and friendship, which ceased only with the lives of some, and far distant separation from others.

To those who have never previously been at sea, every thing on board ship is new and interesting. Even in our passage from Gravesend to Portsmouth, events occurred, which those who witnessed them would long remember; and which made a deep impression on the minds of all who were not accustomed to scenes of maritime danger. We anchored in the Downs, from Gravesend, the second day after our embarkation. There we lay some time wind-bound; but a favourable change taking place, we sailed, with a large fleet, to join our respective convoys, assembling at St. Helen's. It was the beginning of January, and the cold was excessive; at mid-day the wind unfortunately shifted, and blew hard, with heavy showers of hail and snow; and several ships being close under Dunure Head, and unable to clear the land, were

wrecked before the sail could be taken in, or cut from the yards. In our ship, the seamen had for an hour been endeavouring to take in the topsails; but so stiffly frozen was the canvas, that it was found impossible. We had all assembled in the cabin for refreshment, at 2 P. M.; when the mate called the master to come on deck instantly, as he saw the land, which had been hitherto obscured by the snow, close under our lee bow. His frantic exclamation of, "My God! cut the sails from the yards, or we shall be ashore!" made us start from table; and, rushing on deck, our consternation was extreme, on beholding the high land looming over us, and the billows breaking with violence on the shore. Guns of distress, too, were firing from other ships, which we conjectured to be, and which, we afterwards learned, were then actually driving ashore amongst the breakers. Providentially for us, on the very instant, as it were, the wind again shifted in a squall, and we were enabled to lay our course, and to anchor at St. Helen's the same evening. We were truly thankful for our preservation. Five ships, less fortunate, were wrecked around us, and part only of their crews saved.

We remained wind-bound and waiting convoy at St. Helen's nearly two months, with 500 sail of ships, bound to the East and West Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America. During that

long period of detention we had abundant leisure and opportunity to visit the Dock-yards, the fortifications at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, &c.; and, had their purses been full, some of the passengers would not have considered the delay as any great inconvenience.

My young companions and I went ashore only occasionally; we generally devoted several hours every day to the reading of French and English authors; and many were our walks and conversations on the quarter-deck, anxiously speculating on our future destinies, when wafted across the Atlantic. Such are the sunny hues of life; how different, alas! the feelings, how changed the mind of every man, who looks back from fifty to eighteen! Some of these youths had been to England for education, and were now returning to the bosoms of their families. I, on the contrary, had bidden a long adieu to mine. However, I was young and sanguine; and the accounts which my companions gave me, of what they recollected of the manners and customs of the West Indies, amused and interested me. Some of the older passengers, who had before crossed the Atlantic, and resided in the colonies, assured me, too, that, if I survived, I should find the West Indies a country in which, although slavery existed, the utmost hospitality, kindness, and liberality existed also, and where they existed

in a degree exceeding that of every country in Europe. Many years have passed, and many changes have taken place, since those impressions were made; yet I cannot, and ought not to omit recording them, as they were amply confirmed by a residence of eight years, and by the experience of all the scenes, whether of joy or sorrow, to which a resident within the Tropics is so much and so particularly exposed.

At length, on the 13th of March, we had the pleasure of seeing the signal for sailing hoisted by the ships of war, which were to convoy the different fleets; and, on the same evening, the East Indiamen and South Sea Whalers left St. Helen's with a fair wind—in all, 32 sail of beautiful ships, convoyed by a 74 and a frigate. On the 14th, the Mediterranean and North American convoys followed, each under the charge of a frigate, and amounting together to 60 sail; and, in the evening, the long-expected gun from his commodore of the West India convoy notified to the fleet, of which our ship formed one, the intention to proceed next morning; when he accordingly got under weigh, with above 300 fine vessels, destined to convey, to Jamaica and the other islands, various supplies, as well as reinforcements of troops, much wanted in consequence of our long detention.

On board of our ship, all were assembled the

evening before; consequently, we had leisure to view, with wonder and admiration, the imposing scene around us, of a large and valuable fleet getting under weigh, and slowly sailing along the beautiful Isle of Wight, and passing through the narrow and rocky opening from the ocean, called the Needles. Having cleared the island, we steered for Falmouth, whither a sloop-of-war had been despatched to bring out the ships assembled there, and waiting to join convoy. When united, our fleet formed one of the largest from England, since the ill-fated one which had sailed under Admiral Sir Hugh Christian, three years before. We were under the convoy of three frigates of 38 guns each, and a sloop-of-war. For several days we proceeded with a fair wind; but, it then suddenly changed, and took the fleet *all aback*. However, by this time, we were becoming good sailors.

To sail in a large fleet, may be said to resemble living in a camp, where there is always something new occurring, and where, if it is all *plane sailing* in the morning, there is a chance of some change, and of something new and interesting happening before night. Our first business in the morning was generally the signal for the fleet to bring to, or continue under easy sail, until the stragglers and heavy-sailing ships of the convoy were brought up. This was generally effected by the

men-of-war and armed transports, or letters-of-marque, appointed to act as pendant ships, and to repeat signals. When a strange sail appeared in sight, signals were immediately made to her, and if not satisfactorily answered, some of the men-of-war were despatched in chase to speak, and overhaul her; the fleet proceeding on its course, and the chasing vessel rejoining it when the object of separation had been accomplished.

Three of the young gentlemen going out, after having finished their education in England, belonged to one of the oldest and most respectable families in the colony; and immediately on their arrival, they obtained civil appointments, or commissions in the militia. There was, also, on board, a gentleman of the Ordnance Department, with his wife and daughter; and we were very happy in each other's society, forming indeed only one family. Thus to feel and act, whilst wearing away the time on a long sea-voyage, is a hint that may prove useful to many. We certainly were fortunate in being united, not only in the wish to render ourselves agreeable and useful to each other, but also in our common and daily pursuits. The young were anxious to improve themselves; whilst around our social table the seniors of the party omitted no opportunity of instilling into their minds the best advice for preserving health and morals when arrived at the destined port.

Our fleet met with no occurrence worthy of notice until crossing the Bay of Biscay, where there is always a heavy swell and mountainous sea, requiring great attention on the part of the masters, to prevent ships running on board of each other, and on the part of the helmsman, to keep the ship to the wind, and not endanger the masts. Whilst proceeding under easy sail, we again experienced a change of wind, which made it necessary for the ships to tack; a manœuvre that afforded us an opportunity of seeing the respective vessels in every possible variety of position, as well as of observing the matchless skill of the seamen in their management. In the Bay of Biscay, or simply "the Bay," as termed by sailors, the swell is always heavy and long; but, though awful and astonishing to the landsman's eyes, it is far less dangerous than the short swell which prevails off the Cape of Good Hope, and in other stormy latitudes. The heaving motion, however, was exceedingly unpleasant, and it renewed the scenes of sea-sickness which we thought had been at an end.

The appearance of our fleet at this period was grand, and even sublime: the mountainous and impetuous waves, curling to their tops, were covered with gallant vessels, laden with Europe's wealth, under the flag of Britain,—that proudly-waving flag, which had swept the ocean of the

enemy's fleets. Yet it is true that some single cruizers and numerous privateers occasionally committed great depredations when convoys were dispersed in gales of wind, or ships accidentally parted company. To prevent such sinister incidents required the most sedulous attention on the part of the captains of men-of-war convoying fleets. Two days before we came in sight of the Island of Madeira, a strange sail appeared right a-head; and not answering the commodore's signal, chase was immediately given, and we had the pleasure of seeing the men-of-war return before dark with their prize, a fine French privateer of twelve guns and fifty men. She had been cruizing in our track, in the hopes of capturing some unlucky straggler; instead of which it may be fairly said that she "caught a Tartar."

The convoy soon afterwards made the Island of Madeira; that

> lovely isle, that rears
> Its crest above the western waves, and bears
> The fadeless blossoms, and the waving pines,
> The towering cedars, and the clustering vines.*

The frigates ran close in shore, to communicate with the town and procure intelligence. The signal for an opportunity of writing to England was also made, and we availed ourselves of it, to give our friends an account of our progress. The An-

* BIRD'S *Machin; or, The Discovery of Madeira.*

dromeda frigate, (commanded by Captain Bradby, who afterwards died in the West Indies,) then hoisted her colours, received the ships' boats with letters, and, at sun-down, altered her course for England in company with the prize. We were all disappointed that the fleet did not make a longer stay, to allow us to go on shore and refresh ourselves with a walk, or ride, even for a few hours; but time would not permit. The commodore proceeded on his course; and soon afterwards, favoured by the trade winds, the greater part of the dangers of the voyage were considered to be over.

We had made Madeira on the sixteenth day from Portsmouth. The heat now became every day more oppressive, and we saw many ships around us busily employed in getting up their awnings. At this period, also, we began the use of the cold bath. We found this *eminently* conducive to health; and, when we omitted the bath, we comforted ourselves by drinking a tumbler of salt water, as recommended by the Medicos, to prepare us for the change of climate now taking place. Each successive day becoming hotter than the preceding, we were obliged to alter our dress and manner of living—to throw aside the winter attire we had previously used—and to substitute nankeen and jean jackets. At this period of the voyage, all of us who had not crossed the line were frequently reminded that Neptune, with

his trident and attendants, would speedily repair on board of every ship, to exact his tribute from those who had not on some former occasion sworn allegiance to him. Accordingly, in a day or two after, the master advised my young friends and me to remain quietly in the cabin. However, having sent the crew a few bottles of rum,—*having bargained for the barber's operations being dispensed with,*— and resolved that a ducking should not scare us,— we thought we might venture on deck to view the *entrée* of the watery god. We had not long pursued our accustomed walk, when one of the sailors called to his messmates to look at the strange fish he had caught on the forecastle. Thither we also repaired, one and all, with eager haste; but only to be met, and very unceremoniously caught by Neptune's attendants, who held us fast until we could be introduced to his watery majesty. Throwing ropes over us, so as completely to entangle us, the sailors retired; and, presently, bucket after bucket of water was poured upon us from the tops. Having borne our sousing with tolerably good humour, we were speedily released; the jovial tars telling us that we had crossed the line, and that they would drink our healths on the occasion.

The custom of Neptune and his wife coming on board on crossing the line has been continued perhaps from the time of Columbus. It is a trite

remark, that there is no class of men more prone to superstition than sailors; and masters of ships find it very difficult to interrupt or interfere much with the sea-god's visit. Ladies and invalids are indeed exempted from the ruder ceremonies; but even they are safest in their cabins on that day of fun and frolic, when the ocean-monarch usurps the doctor's rights, and prescribes without compunction a glass of *water fresh on board,* for all who declare themselves on the sick list.

The fleet continued its course with a steady breeze; and sailing along side of each other, the ships could now hold closer intercourse than before. In these latitudes the sea is generally calm, and the trade wind blows steadily, yet gently. We were now running at the rate of one hundred miles a day; though in the evening the wind sometimes died away, when the convoy failed not to employ the interval, in paying visits to their friends in the ships around them. This pleasant variety relieved us from much *ennui*. Numerous boats were frequently seen on all sides, filled with ladies and gentlemen, engaged on dinner parties; from which the approach of night, and the setting of the sun —always a magnificent and beautiful spectacle in tropical latitudes—warned them again to depart, that they might regain their own vessels before darkness closed in, or the breeze freshened.

One of our boating parties was on a visit to

an officer's family on board of a large transport, proceeding to Jamaica with troops. We had become acquainted with them at the Isle of Wight, and, with their agreeable society, both on shore and at sea, we were much pleased. Having enjoyed ourselves with these good friends for some hours, we left them at the approach of sun-set; the martial music sounding sweetly along the unruffled waters, and the sun descending beneath their bosom with a brilliancy and splendour, which neither the pencil can delineate, nor the pen describe, in terms to convey to others the absorbing emotions of wonder, and delight, and enthusiastic admiration inspired in the beholder. The feelings of the heart and of the imagination impressed in early youth fade not away, as do those of later years: the remembrance of these first contemplations of the glorious luminary of day, sinking below the horizon into the bosom of the ocean, is never to be effaced.

On one of these beautiful evenings, when returning from a visit to a ship at some distance, we perceived our own vessel making signals of recall, which we complied with as quickly as possible. We had indeed been *loitering*, to use a landsman's phrase, and allowing the sailors to pull leisurely, whilst we enjoyed the music coming over the rippling waters, and contemplated the sun descending below the waves. We found, on getting on

board, that the master was anxiously waiting for the seamen and the boats, to prepare for a change of weather; and the orders quickly given to hoist in the boats, which had been towing astern, and reef the sails, gave us to understand, that we might think ourselves fortunate in getting on board. All this we easily conjectured, without inquiry, for on such occasions, when the crew are actively employed, and their minds fully occupied with the care of the ship, it is no time to ask questions of sailors, an error into which those unaccustomed to the sea are very apt to fall. The same busy preparations for a gale were observed going on in all the ships around us; some were shortening sail, and striking top-gallant masts, and all were reefing topsails, which, though always done at sunset on board of men-of-war, is seldom attended to in merchantmen, unless bad weather is expected. Our commodore had early set the example in reducing sail and preparing for the storm, and now made the signal for the fleet carefully to observe his motions during the night, and in case of separation, for the fleet to rendezvous in Carlisle Bay, Barbados, from which, by our reckoning, we were not farther than ten days' sail, and had been calculating a few hours before on reaching it without farther danger. But we had been premature in our expectations, and had now to prepare for a gale, when we thought ourselves beyond its

reach; for in the month of April storms are seldom experienced in the West Indies. Shortly, the face of heaven was changed. The sun's last slanting rays,

> intense, and fiercely red,
> O'er burning skies, in angry lines were spread,
> While the loud tumult of the ocean's breast
> Forbade his greeting, and denied him rest!
> The gathering streaks of that portentous light
> Foretold the terrors of a stormy night,
> Which now, with sable wing, began to brood
> In deadly horror o'er the fretting flood!

The fleet having "made all snug," the commodore again bore on, under double-reefed topsails; but the gale, towards midnight, assailed us with all its fury. Most of the ships were under storm stay-sails. At sun-set we were in the midst of a fleet of three hundred vessels; but when morning dawned, we could not count fifty around us, with the commodore. Others, however, were near, though we could not see them from the deck. At this time we were lying-to, collecting the scattered convoy; but the frigate appeared to make such bad weather, as well as some of the fleet in this position, that he was soon compelled again to bear away to save his masts. On board of our ship the motion during the night had been excessive; and, though all of us were now accustomed to the sea, we found that we had still to learn, and were

only receiving, a *first* lesson in gales of wind. We were, in short, as is usual on such occasions, some sick, some frightened, and all anxious for a return of the same clear sky and beautiful scenery which had so lately delighted us. But the gale had not yet expended all its fury. It blew excessively hard, and the sea was running mountains high; no sun was to be seen; but the lowering sky, illuminated occasionally by vivid flashes of lightning, indicated that heavy rain would probably terminate the career of the storm before night. Some of us —passengers—tired of remaining below, and wishing to have a peep, had, by holding well on, and making a hurried toilet, contrived to get as far as the companion ladder, where we stowed ourselves away in the best manner that we could, so as to escape the spray, and to find some shelter from the wind. We saw, close to us, two seamen lashed to the helm, and the crew, in different parts of the ship, all secured, in the best manner practicable, to prevent their being carried overboard, from which I had subsequently a very narrow escape.

The master, finding the ship labour heavily, and not to rise with her accustomed buoyancy, ordered the well to be sounded, when it was found that there were five feet water in the hold. We were under no slight consternation, believing that the ship had sprung a leak: all hands were therefore instantly ordered to stand by the pumps; but,

on sounding the well again, sometime afterwards, we had the pleasure of finding that the ship was almost free of water, and that there was no leak, the accumulation having arisen from her working in the gale.

Below, we found all a scene of dismay and confusion; the rest of the passengers, who had continued in bed, believing the ship to be in imminent danger. We soon convinced them, by our preparation for a stand-up breakfast, that we were not yet disposed to become food for the fishes. Having got some biscuit and ham, and a glass of wine or two each, we felt ourselves again in a state to face the weather, and returned to the deck. There, it still blew harder. Scarcely were we secured in our places by ropes, when a noise, like thunder, drew our earnest attention: each pointed to the stay-sail, which was rending into ribbons, and every rent of which occasioned those alarming crashes. In a few minutes, it was completely torn from the shrouds, and, fortunately, without inflicting personal injury.

On looking around us, we perceived, that this heavy blast, or tornado, had produced much havoc in the fleet: several ships had signals of distress flying; but no immediate assistance could be afforded, as no boat could have lived in such a wildly-heaving sea.—Vivid sheets of lightning illuminated the sky, and the howling of the wind,

and the distant thunder, heightened the grandeur of this terrific scene. Once more, the passengers were glad to seek shelter in their hammocks and berths.

The storm had now attained its height; and soon after mid-day, the clouds began to clear off, the peals of distant thunder became more faint, and the wind whistled less fiercely through the shrouds. The commodore made the signal for the convoy to close. The sea, however, was too high to admit of sending assistance to the ships in distress, until towards evening, when the men-of-wars' boats were seen, in every direction, proceeding towards the disabled vessels, several of which had lost not only sails and top-masts, but, from the loss of pumps, or their becoming choked, were nearly water-logged. Had the gale continued through the succeeding night, several ships must have gone down; but, by the prompt assistance now rendered, they were all got to rights in a few hours, and, once more, the fleet, again pretty well re-united, proceeded under easy sail for Barbados.

Next morning, the sea was smooth, and the sun was seen emerging from the deep, to shine with dazzling brightness. We all enjoyed this day, with double pleasure, after the hardships of the preceding. We met again, in good health and spirits, to enjoy the calm and happiness of fine weather, and to talk over the *miseries* of the gale.

It is in witnessing such scenes that the mind is expanded, and the heart made better. On the second day after the storm, (Sunday,) the captain read prayers to all on board, assembled on the quarter-deck, and we perceived that the same sacred duty was performing in several ships around us. After entering the trade winds, it is usual for masters of West Indiamen to allow the crew to enjoy Sunday, as a day of rest, the same as though they had arrived at their destined port, and some of them regularly read prayers; a duty which I am persuaded would always bring its own reward.

Our voyage was now drawing towards a conclusion; and we began to calculate the number of hours, as well as of days, that we should require to run down our latitude. The extreme power of the sun announced to us that we had actually arrived in the West Indies; and the nearer we got to land, the more excited became our imaginations, and the more impatient our feverish minds to behold the *New World*. Those amongst us, to whom the scene was not new, enjoyed the anxious and inquiring looks of others; yet, with that kindness and urbanity which shewed, equally, the goodness of their hearts and their knowledge of the world, they satisfied, as far as they could, our eager inquiries, and bestowed those friendly counsels for our after-conduct, which, at such seasons, sink deep into the minds of youth. Those

excellent persons, my fellow passengers, Mr. and Mrs. ***** fell victims to the West Indian climate, soon after their arrival; yet, to mention their goodness is a grateful task,—a tribute due to their memory.

During the week which preceded our arrival at Bārbados, little occurred worthy of notice, until the commodore sent officers on board, to ascertain the different reckonings of the ships around him. He informed us, that he expected to make the island on the third day after, towards sun-set. The expectation was realised; but, previously to that longed-for event, he made the signal for the fleet to lie-to, and sent boats on board, to press men from every ship, for the West Indian squadron. Two or more were taken, and generally the best men in the ship. The commodore acted by orders from the admiralty. The officer, however, who boarded us, declared—truly, I doubt not—that there was no part of his duty he disliked so much as that on which he was then employed; and, instead of selecting the men, he left it to the master to say which he could best spare. In the interim, two fine-spirited lads, who had just finished their apprenticeships, came and offered to enter, and were immediately accepted. At this time, the revolutionary war was at its height; and, although the battle of the Nile, with the glories of St. Vincent, Camperdown, and the First of June, had

greatly humbled the pride and naval greatness of France, Spain, and Holland, the victory of Trafalgar had not yet entirely swept their fleets from the ocean. Great Britain was thus compelled to keep strong squadrons on all the foreign stations. Without impressment, it has hitherto been found impossible to man our fleets: to necessity, therefore, was the distressing and revolting act ascribed. The conduct of the officer, who visited our ship, was that of a gentleman; he gained the good opinion of all on board; and, had he required more men, he would probably have obtained them without compulsion. Are we not permitted to hope, that, should war again break out, our fleets may be manned without resorting to the cruel measure of impressment, by entering seamen for a limited time, and bestowing pensions on them after fourteen years' service?

It is not to be supposed that we shall ever again have to fight against the whole of Europe, as in the days of Napoleon, single-handed, or to keep a thousand pendants flying at one time; yet, this was Great Britain then called upon to do; and, in her utmost need, her gallant seamen, and soldiers, and loyal volunteers, stood by their colours. Trafalgar crowned the navy with unfading laurels. Waterloo gave victory to the British troops, and peace to bleeding Europe. Nelson fell on Trafalgar's glorious day; but Wellington, un-

conquered, still survives, to lead again, if necessary, our gallant heroes to battle and to victory.

On the thirty-second day from leaving St. Helen's, the signal for seeing land was made by the frigate which had been sent ahead to look out; and, shortly afterwards, the men and passengers in the tops also descried it, although only a black speck on the water. Having made the Island of Barbados at 4 P.M., the commodore ran for it with all sail, and, at sun-set, hove-to, for the fleet to come down to him.

Though we were all well pleased to think that the dangers of the voyage were over, and all anxious to be on shore, and settled in this new, and, to some of us, unknown hemisphere, our minds were not reconciled to the idea of being separated from those with whom we had now lived so happily for many weeks.—The following morning, the fleet stood for Carlisle Bay, with every sail set; and, at 9 P.M., the ships came to anchor in safety. The men-of-war saluted the batteries, and the merchantmen were immediately surrounded by numbers of canoes, containing all the different tropical fruits, and rowed by negroes with no other clothing than their trowsers. Our party determined to spend the day together on shore, as it would be the last we might ever have the pleasure of spending in each other's society; and, having hired one of the shore boats, to convey

us to Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados, and bidding adieu to all on board, we speedily became *inhabitants of the New World.*

FIRST DAYS IN THE WEST INDIES.

We had scarcely landed, when we were surrounded by the numerous groups of porters, hucksters, and idlers, white and black, which the arrival of even a single vessel fails not to assemble on the beach, and whose appearance was far from affording a favorable specimen of West Indian population. The numbers of poor, emaciated, and diseased people, of all ages and colours, and of both sexes, struck us with surprise and consternation. Altogether, the landing-place presents a scene on which the *new comer* looks, in vain, for any thing to reconcile him to his *new country*.

Having reached the tavern, we found ourselves still in the midst of large parties from the fleet, all landed for the same purpose as ourselves,—to see the *lions* of Bridgetown, and contemplate the *agrémens* of a West Indian town. The heat of the sun, to which we were yet little accustomed, rendering rest and refreshment necessary, we ordered dinner at the proper hour, and some fruit

and sangaree for present need.* Having paid our respects to the oranges, pine-apples, and shaddocks, we determined, even at noon-day, to have a peep at the novelties of Bridgetown. We, accordingly, sallied forth, in company with another party, bound on similar discoveries, walking up one street and down another, remarking the great dissimilarity of all we saw, from all we had left behind; and rather startled by the number of black faces we were constantly meeting: sometimes we stopped to admire the shape and beauty of the cocoa-nut and tamarind trees; at others, to gaze upon the neatness and airiness of nicely painted houses, fitted up to *admit* and not to *exclude* the breeze. At length, we reached the Cathedral, in which we were glad to take shelter, for a time, from the heat of the sun, and to indulge ourselves, in true John-Bull fashion, with half an hour's "meditation amongst the tombs." We had, several times, attempted to question the negroes passing, and to obtain information relative to different objects of our curiosity, but were able to comprehend little of their answers, as their broken English requires some time to be perfectly understood. Some of their observations, however,

* Sangaree is composed of wine and water, sugar or syrup, and nutmeg. It is an agreeable beverage, much used in the Colonies.

we could not misunderstand: "Ah! dem Buckra* no savey noting, dem just come in a England." When walking round the Cathedral, the party were *comforted* by blacky's remark: "Ah! look dem Buckra, in a church-yard; dem get fever in de hot sun—dem soon come in a church-yard—dem go dead."

The novelty of every thing around us—the consciousness that we were in a new country, and amongst a race of people to whose manners we were strangers—produced a degree of excitement in our feelings, which it was impossible to repress. Every thing we saw reminded us, that we were in a land of slavery; and, though in an English colony, that liberty, the glory and boast of Englishmen, was here denied to thousands of our fellow men; differing from us, it is true, in colour and intelligence, but still our fellow men. Every Briton, on first setting foot on West Indian soil, must, on this subject, experience sensations nearly allied to those of sorrow, sympathy, and regret.

To the new comer, every step he takes, every face he beholds, is interesting; for every feature of West Indian scenery is different from any thing he has seen in Europe, and different, too, from what he had pictured to himself. Our busy fancies had been excited unceasingly, during

* White people.

the voyage, to figure the country and people, in which, and with whom, we were to dwell; but, on our arrival, we were constrained to acknowledge that all was unlike—that our imagination had idly mocked us. In scenery, in people, in manners, in customs, in climate, in fruits, in flowers, every thing tells the European, that he has arrived in a new world. Nature is bright, and beautiful, and grand; but, even in "little England," as the natives of Barbados call that island, he finds little to reconcile him to the pictures of slavery and disease, which constantly meet his eye. The white population of this colony far exceeds in numbers that of any of the others. Most of them are Creoles, and dependent for subsistence on the labour of their hands, or the earnings of a few wretched and ill-fed negroes. Some of the coloured people are still worse off; and, in addition to other miseries, are afflicted with that deplorable species of leprosy, elephantiasis. Few of them have been well educated, or bred to any business or profession; or, if they have, they are too proud or indolent to follow it. The love of ease and pleasure has too much dominion over the West Indians, at all times; but in no other colony is the same number of unemployed whites to be met with as in Barbados—many of them differing little in dress and mode of life from their slaves. Some, indeed, cultivate

their lands, raise stock, and sell fruits and vegetables, by which they earn a livelihood; but the majority prefer billiards, smoking, and drinking, to any useful employment. The active and enterprising merchants of the island form splendid exceptions from this censure. With them, wealth and good spirits, hospitality and kindness, walk hand-in-hand.

Carlisle Bay affords the best anchorage; and, during war, the fleets from England always anchored there. At the time of my arrival, Bridgetown was a place of great trade and universal resort. Vessels and merchants, from the other islands, were constantly arriving and departing with cargoes of European goods or American produce; and there were not wanting merchants in Barbados, whose bills passed in the United States as readily as Bank of England notes in Britain; some of them having been two or three years before they were presented in London for payment.—Bridgetown possesses many handsome houses and buildings, uniting elegance and convenience, not surpassed in any of the other English islands, and is superior to most in neatness and comfort.

Returning from our ramble, we dressed, dined, and then, with heart-felt regret, bade a long adieu to the agreeable and worthy family who had been our fellow passengers. My young friend and I

took our passage in a vessel bound to Martinico and Dominica—the latter island being our ultimate destination.

At sun-rise next morning, we proceeded with part of the convoy bound to the islands to leeward. We found our new ship comfortable, and the passengers pleasant and disposed to render our stay as agreeable as circumstances would permit; for we were supernumeraries, and all the berths having been engaged, we were obliged to content ourselves with cots hung in the great cabin. After a run of a few hours only, the fleet came in sight of the island of Martinico. St. Lucia, also, was visible, though far distant. We soon approached the windward side of the former, and steered along its beautiful shore for the port of St. Pierre, whither part of the fleet was bound; the ships for St. Lucia now leaving us, and proceeding for that island under all sail, so as to get beyond the range of privateers and reach their anchorage before dark. On the following morning, we were opposite to the fine town of St. Pierre. In the roadstead, we found a number of shipping; many large vessels loading for Europe. This valuable, and then flourishing, colony having been wrested from the French three years before, was now enjoying the advantages of a direct intercourse with England; receiving supplies of every description by the fleets, and sending, in return,

that produce which it raised in such abundance, and which, for several years, from the vigilance and activity of the British navy, the colonists had found it impossible to transport in safety to France.

We were enabled to go ashore for an hour or two, and were much pleased with what we saw of this really beautiful town. Many of the houses are built of stone; and along the principal streets are regular rows of trees, on each side, to shelter the passengers from the sun. In the middle runs a stream of water, which gives a coolness to the atmosphere, that renders St. Pierre, especially the part called Nouvelle City, one of the most pleasant towns to reside in within the Tropics.

Having returned to our ships, we, next morning, found ourselves under the lee of the high land of Dominica, and, by mid-day, were at anchor in the road of Roseau, the chief town of the island, and one which, at this period, was rich and flourishing, possessing great beauty of situation, but considered, as was the island, one of the most unhealthful in the West Indies. Losing no time in disembarking, we proceeded, with anxious hearts and eager steps, to seek our respective friends. My young and attentive fellow-passengers, however, refused to proceed to their own homes, until they had conducted me, as an entire stranger, to mine. I was received with all the cordiality which belongs

so much to the West Indian character; and which, to people arriving in a strange land, is so delightful. The warmth of the climate appears only to equal the warmth of the hearts of its European inhabitants. To one worthy family in particular at Roseau, I was deeply indebted. To produce a letter of introduction, was at all times sufficient to ensure a welcome reception at my friend's table. In the West Indies, indeed, a stranger seldom has occasion to go to an inn: his letter is a passport on all occasions. I was soon domesticated with the kind friends alluded to. Wherever they went or visited, I accompanied them; and thus, in a very short time, I was acquainted with all the principal people in the colony. My patron, as I may justly term him, was high in office, commanding the best interest, and greatest authority, next to the Governor; and, probably, no man who has resided in the West Indies ever exerted himself more strenuously, or more successfully, in behalf of those who had the honour and the happiness of experiencing his protection. In him, they found a second father, and in his amiable wife a mother. Few, alas! of his *protegés* survive, as he still does, to enjoy their fortunes in a better climate, and to talk over the tales of the *olden times*.

In Europe—northern Europe, at least—a man wishes to make his house warm, and to find a convenient spot where it may be sheltered from

the wind, and secure from the stormy blasts of winter. In tropical climates, it is cool air, and not shelter, that is most required. Glass windows are rarely used. Blinds, made to open and shut close at pleasure, so as to admit the air, and exclude the rain, have, at first, a strange appearance; whilst the lowness of the structure, and the galleries extending round three sides of the house, are equally novel. The stranger, however, is soon informed, that the houses are built low, as a protection against hurricanes; and that the galleries are for the purpose of exercise during the heat of the day—to serve also as halls for breakfast, and for ball or supper rooms, whenever large parties are assembled. Indeed, these apartments, accessible as they are to the breeze, are equally pleasant, whether the family, or the party, is large or small. Few houses in the West Indies are without a gallery, or portico, in which, at even-tide, it is the custom of the country, especially amongst the French, to assemble for the purpose of enjoying their cigars; and thus to inhale the coolness of the evening breeze, without suffering from the damp or dew, which begins to fall soon after sunset.

The town of Roseau is regularly laid out, with a square, or market-place; the main streets, which are long and broad, crossing each other at right angles. On the rising ground, to the East, stands

Fort Young, commanding the roadstead; and behind it is Government House, the residence of the Governor, with suitable offices, and a small park. At a little distance, is the Court House, from which Charlotteville extends for half a mile, comprehending only one street, with several good houses. On the hill called Morne Bruce, rising over the town, and distant about half a mile, stand the Barracks, where were then quartered the 45th Regiment;* and Melville's Battery, at some little distance, defends the town on that side. The Fort of Scotsman's-head, where there are some heavy guns, projects by an isthmus into the sea, forming the extreme point on that side of the town. On the other side, runs Roseau river; and, half a mile beyond it, stands Morne Daniel, usually garrisoned by only a very few men.

At the time of my arrival, arrived also the ships from England, bringing supplies of the various European goods and stores required for the comfort and convenience of the colonists, and for the plantations; and also an importation of white inhabitants, which the unhealthfulness of the climate rendered equally necessary. As our fleet was the first which had arrived for several months, no small bustle was occasioned by its appearance,

* This regiment had been long in the West Indies, and was very healthy. It was soon relieved by the 87th, which suffered much, and the 63th, still more, by sickness.

and by the consequent arrival of reinforcements to the Colony, in the forms of young ladies and gentlemen, who had been sent to England for their education. There were also some old residents, who had been to Europe on business, or for change of climate; and others, who, like myself, had come in quest of Fortune's favours.

One of the first visits which a young man from England receives after landing, is from the serjeant of one of the companies of militia, who proceeds to insert the name in his muster-roll, and to require the recruit's attendance on parade at next turn-out of the corps. At that time, Sunday morning was devoted to the training of the militia; but, perhaps, the colonists now find time on Saturday! My young fellow-passenger and I were very soon looked in upon by the serjeant of the light infantry of the St. George's Regiment, who assemble at Roseau. He considered us worth having, and we had therefore to order our uniforms, which cost us £20 each, and prepare to become soldiers. For some time, to us thoughtless youngsters, the militia parades were gala days. We were soon smart soldiers, and, at no distant period, were recommended for commissions in the same regiment, and had the honour of serving as officers.

Besides exercising the militia on Sunday, I found that it was the custom of the West Indies to hold weekly markets on that day, when the

negroes from the different estates and plantations bring their pigs, poultry, fruits, and vegetables for sale. They are then all dressed in their gayest attire; they are allowed the day entirely to themselves; and only those who come from a considerable distance are required to have written or printed passports from their owners. Many of them are enabled to realize considerable sums of money, and to furnish their houses with every thing they require for comfort and convenience, as well as to appear in excellent clothes.

It is repugnant to the sober feelings and religious habits of Englishmen to be initiated in the practice of drilling soldiers, and of buying and selling on the Sabbath morning. The church service, it is true, was regularly performed, when there was a clergyman resident; but I am obliged to add, that it was seldom received with much attention; nor can I say that the same reverence for the Sabbath existed in the colonies, as it is to be wished should prevail in a Christian land. The abolition of the Sunday markets, and the instruction of the negroes in the first principles of religion, will undoubtedly tend greatly to the welfare of the whole West India population; and the steps which are now taking to accomplish these, and other most important improvements in the condition of the slaves, to be followed by still greater, as they become more and more fit to enjoy higher privi-

leges, give promise of an improved state of society in the West Indies; unless, indeed, the eagerness to do every thing *at once*, and to confer emancipation on the slaves in their present state, should render all these measures curses, instead of blessings. Whenever the black population shall have become fitted, by gradual and progressive improvement, by civilization and religious knowledge, they may safely be made free; but, until then—until this great change of condition shall have been accomplished—until emancipation can be granted without sacrificing vested rights and properties—let the abolitionists pause. To this momentous subject, however, I shall have occasion to revert hereafter.

In addition to the Sunday drills and markets, every new comer views with astonishment the negro dances, which are also held on the Sabbath, in the open air, generally on the river side, or wherever the public attention is most likely to be drawn. In the most frequented walks or rides about the town, all the slaves who can attend are sure to be found assembled, in their gayest attire; the sable beauties, in gowns white as snow, with turbans, (their universal and favourite head-dress,) composed of Bandana handkerchiefs;—whilst the men are perfect beaus—Sunday dandies even—in their way. No Bond-street exquisite can be at more pains in making his toilet than Jack, Tom,

Dick, and Harry, before they proceed to this great scene of enjoyment on Sunday evening. When the novice is brought to witness it for the first time, and is asked if there are happier meetings in England; or if the working classes there are better dressed, or display livelier symptoms of happiness; he is obliged to allow, that in none of these respects are they superior to the slave population, keeping holiday before him. Their dances (John-John) and their music are alike simple. The former has more resemblance to what is called setting, or jigging, in the English country-dance, than to the waltz.* Only one couple dance at a time; and it is astonishing to see how many excellent dancers are ready to succeed each other on the turf. The whites, and people of colour, as well as the negroes, are uncommonly fond of dancing: the heat of the climate serves to operate as a stimulus to this healthful and amusing exercise. The music consists generally of a sort of drum, called a tom-tom; the gamboy; and a pipe, a reed of the Bamboo tree, on which they play very sweetly; with the addition, frequently, of castanets and a tambourin.

* At the time to which these remarks chiefly apply, reels were the favourites; to these, have succeeded the country-dance, and even the quadrille; and, in some of the colonies, so *refined* has the taste of the slave-population become, that their amusements are varied by the introduction of *private theatricals*. —Think of a *black* JULIET!

Their dances commence at four or five o'clock on the Sunday evenings, and are concluded at sunset, between six and seven, as there is scarcely any twilight in the West Indies. The negroes then retire to their different abodes, contented, peaceable, and happy.—It is not unusual to see, amongst the spectators, many of the first white people in the colony. The English sailors, dressed in holiday attire, and frequently more than half-seas over, are generally of the party. On these occasions, Jack thinks it incumbent on him to step forward and select his sable or yellow partner; and the perfect good humour with which the negroes receive these very noisy and boisterous heroes of the ocean, and allow them to mix in their dances, never fails to conciliate Jack and his associates. Sometimes, however, the white gentlemen assembled to witness these happy holiday folks—such scenes being rather uncommon in Hyde Park or Kensington-gardens—are obliged to interfere to restore blackie his partner. Not unfrequently, the sailor may be seen striving with all his might to imitate the dancing of the negroes. He begins by saluting his partner; and after, perhaps in vain, doing his best to get into the proper step and motion, he is at last obliged to resort to his own mode, and to conclude by whisking his partner round in the waltz style, until his giddy head can no longer direct his heels, and he fairly falls, at

full length, amidst the cheers of his messmates, and the surrounding spectators!

One of the greatest annoyances in the West Indies, is the vile croaking of the lizards, wood-slugs,* and frogs. These reptiles commence their nightly serenades, about the hour of eight or nine, when one is preparing to enjoy as much rest as the terrific hum and sanguinary bite of the mosquitoes will allow.—*Apropos*, respecting mosquitoes:—young ladies from Europe, full of health and blood, on rising a few mornings after their arrival, are sometimes so changed in appearance, as scarcely to be able to recognize themselves in their mirrors; into which they are almost afraid to look, until a little recovered from the salutes of these earliest, but not, alas! deadliest enemies of the European constitution.

The hour of rising, in the West Indies, is generally five. When the glorious luminary of day ushers in the morn, a gun is fired from the respective forts and garrisons; and this is the genera signal for starting. In warm climates, if the cool of the morning is lost in bed, the time for exercise is gone. The custom, therefore, is for those who

* Crapauds. These are as large as chickens, and, when fricasseed, are nearly as tender. They are relished much by the French, and custom reconciles even John Bull himself to Monsieur Crapaud, on the dinner table. *After supper*, he is insufferable.

have horses, to mount them as soon as dressed, and to ride several miles before the breakfast hour, which is from seven to eight. Breakfast despatched, business commences. At two P. M. the shops, stores, and offices are shut; and it is then customary for the inhabitants to seek repose, stretched on their beds or couches, in their *robes de chambre*, until it is time to dress for dinner, which is served at four, or later. This important meal seldom occupies more than an hour, except when parties are assembled to be convivial. The business of the day ceases entirely at six, except on packet-days, when the night, as well as day, is often devoted to letter-writing, accounts, &c. After five, the ladies and gentlemen enjoy their ride, or walk, in the cool of the evening, until sunset; by that time, the newsmongers are assembling at their common rendezvous on the beach, where their faces are as well known as are those of the sporting characters around the club-room windows in St. James's-street. The scene of these news-meetings, generally, was opposite to the taverns, where there were billiard tables, of which the West Indians are fond. A view of the roadstead, with the shipping—the arrivals and sailings of the day—European, colonial, and local news—marriages and deaths of friends, &c. form exhaustless topics of discussion. Respecting deaths, indeed, such is the nature of the climate, so fatal are its

diseases, and so rapid are they in their course, that the friend, or neighbour, whom yesterday you may have met, may to-day be ill, and to-morrow you may be summoned to perform the last sad duties to his remains. Yet the West Indians, when in health, are buoyant; and balls and parties of pleasure are given in quick succession. This is more particularly the case after the departure of the wet, or hurricane, months, when returning health begins to enliven the scene. The ladies here are happily circumstanced; for, at the balls, they are always eagerly contended for as partners. Neither ladies nor gentlemen think it incumbent on them to give up dancing until *past three score.* The European residents are as passionately fond of the sport as the light-footed, and still lighter hearted, Creoles—dear fascinating creatures—the ladies, I mean—who will dance with you nine hours on a stretch, without flagging, the "gentle dew" not merely oozing, but almost streaming from every pore. It is not only in times of health and jollity, that kindnesses most grateful to the human heart are accorded in the West Indies. Perhaps in no country in the world is there more of disease and death; and, assuredly, in no country can the duties to the sick be rendered with more affectionate care, and unremitting vigilance. I had not been a week arrived, when two young men, whom I had been acquainted with, were

taken ill. Inquiring for one of them, I was rather startled, when the lady of the house asked me to accompany her into his sick chamber. This, from fear of infection, I wished to decline; when she assured me, that the fever of the West Indies was not contagious; and that she herself had administered to the invalid, and been as much with him as the sick-nurse. I found, too, that, except the physicians ordered the patient not to be disturbed, his chamber was visited daily—hourly—by his friends. The young man, here alluded to, recovered; but the other died on the third day of the fever; and, on the following morning, I saw him carried to his long last home.

MORE DAYS IN THE WEST INDIES.

HAVING been immediately placed in one of the public offices of the island, I had daily opportunities of becoming acquainted with the white population residing in Roseau. The excitement which new scenes and society produces, had not yet given place to the languor of a tropical climate, and the depression of disease. The departure for England of the gentleman's family, who had received me so kindly, was the first event that broke in upon my tranquillity. Previously to this, a round of balls and entertainments was given by their numerous friends, and they, in return, gave a farewell "At Home," which was attended by all the fashionables of the place. Our regret for their loss was alleviated by the hope of their early return.

The West Indians never speak of England, but under the cherished name of *Home*. There, all their hopes are centered: yet they do not abstain from the enjoyments which their present residence

allows.—The departure of the first fleet of the year, for England, was now at hand; and all was bustle and preparation, on the part of those intending to *go home*:—some, to enjoy their hardly-earned fortunes; others, to regain, if possible, that health which they had lost; some, on important business; and some with children under their protection, to receive that education which the colonies cannot supply. There is nothing more trying to parental feelings than this early separation. Fathers and mothers are compelled to part from their children at the age of five or six, without the hope of seeing them again, (even should their own lives be preserved in this fatal climate,) until they shall return, grown into young men and women, and strangers to their own friends and relations.

The expense of proceeding to England is very considerable; for, besides paying the same sum for a passage, as in coming from it, passengers are compelled to provide all the stores, stock, and wine, necessary for the voyage. In time of war, when large convoys are collected, this occasions a perfect scramble in the markets or plantations; and agents are as regularly employed, as for victualling His Majesty's fleets.—To the gentleman's family, before alluded to, the utmost possible attention was paid by every inhabitant of the island. Nor were the attachment and respect of the negroes shewn in a less striking and forcible manner.

Not only those who were domesticated in the family, but many who belonged to other masters, and even whole gangs from the estates near town, over which the gentleman presided as attorney, arrived on the Sunday preceding his departure, to bid "good massa good bye, and *peedy* return." On the evening previous to the sailing of the convoy, the house was filled, for hours, with friends who came to bid adieu. Several children were embarking under their charge, and many tokens of affection were entrusted to them, from parents to their children already in England. The ladies were nearly exhausted and overcome by the constant agitation and excitement of leave-taking.

On the following morning, a gay and imposing scene was presented: a fleet of 200 sail of West Indiamen deeply laden, and convoyed by a squadron of men-of-war, displayed their broad sails to the wind; and the ships in the roadstead were busily employed in weighing their anchors, and getting under sail; whilst boats and canoes in all directions were conveying the passengers and their friends on board the respective ships. In a short time, the signal to bear away was made, and the squadron and convoy, under charge of the late Admiral (then Captain) M'Namara Russel, in the Vengeance, of 74 guns, with two frigates, crowded every sail.

In this fleet, two young officers of the garrison

went passengers. Their story is not unworthy of record:—These two brothers were as fine young men as ever wore the British uniform. Both had been attacked by fever, some time before. One soon recovered; but, by a renewed attack, the other had been again reduced to a state of extreme weakness, and his case pronounced hopeless, unless he immediately embarked for England. To this he would not consent, except his brother were allowed to accompany him. The regiment was much reduced in strength, and had few effective officers remaining. The gallant and affectionate youth struggled between love of his profession, and affection towards his brother, who refused to leave him a prey to the climate. At length, affection prevailed. He had no time to obtain regular leave of absence from head-quarters, and he left his letter of resignation with his commanding officer, to be sent to the late General Sir Thomas Trigge. With this letter, the worthy commanding officer forwarded one from himself, stating the case, and requesting, as a favour to the regiment, that leave of absence should be granted to both, and the letter of resignation returned. The commander-in-chief, with those kind feelings which belonged to the man, complied with the request: the leave was forwarded to England, where the young men arrived in safety. They were, subsequently, promoted into other regiments, with which,

and in the Portuguese army, they served with distinguished reputation, were often wounded, and more than once received the thanks of the Duke of Wellington. Thus were these fine youths preserved to the service, by the well-timed consideration of the worthy commander of the forces in the Leeward Islands.

Similar instances occurred, by no means unfrequently. When Death was stalking around, sparing few, and sweeping hundreds away with unrelenting hand, the effect on the minds of the inhabitants and garrisons was such as may be supposed—dejection—sometimes bordering on despair, and requiring immediate change of air and scene. The fatal nature of the climate derives aggravated force from the state of mind in which it finds its victims on such occasions. Immediate removal affords the only hope of preserving the survivors.

At the time when the 68th and 87th regiments were in garrison on Morne Bruce, and when the deaths were increasing from ten to twenty in a day, the disease was checked, and the mortality reduced, immediately on their being divided into companies and sections, and scattered round the island on the different plantations. These corps had buried nearly 300 men each, in the course of the months of August and September only; but, when removed from the barracks, the seat of disease, the sickness ceased at once: they returned,

in a few weeks, to their quarters, and continued healthy during the remainder of their service in the colony. When relieved, each of them embarked in fine order, and as effective as though they had been just landed.

For some time after the departure of the fleet for England, there was much of that depression which generally succeeds a period of excitement. To dispel this, the most effectual mode is to *get up a dance*. Several balls—not *cannon*-balls—were therefore *projected*; and, in a short time, all was again brisk and lively. The arrival of young ladies, and of married folks also, is always, in the West Indies, an event of considerable importance. After due preparation, they are welcomed by a dance and supper, given by their friends. They are thus introduced to the best society of the place, and enabled to judge of the customs and manners of the inhabitants. This introductory *fête* is generally followed by others, to which the military and naval officers are invited; and, in their turn, the regiments and men-of-war have parties—mostly breakfasts, with dancing at the close.

As the rainy or hurricane months approach, the apprehensions of even the old inhabitants are perceived to increase, as they know, too well, that, during the months of August, September, and October, they hold both their lives and properties by a very precarious tenure. The rains seldom

set in before the end of July. This year, however, the town of Roseau was visited by an inundation of the river, so early as the 4th of June. A heavy fall of rain in the mountains, descending in torrents, occasioned the river to burst its barriers, and break with violence into the town, covering the main streets with water, to the depth of several feet. I had been spending the day with a young couple, who had a party to celebrate the anniversary of their marriage. The storm came on at 4 o'clock, P. M.; the rain poured in torrents; the thunder and lightning were terrific. A sumptuous dinner had been provided, but scarcely any of the company did it justice. We had just taken our seats at table, when it was announced that a ship was steering for the roadstead. Some, who knew they had relations on board, left us, even in the midst of the tempest, to bring them ashore. This was fortunately effected; but, shortly after dark, servants arrived to inform their masters, that the river had broken through the town, and was filling the cellars, stores, and even houses, with water, and carrying all before it. Some of the more provident had brought horses; but the greater part of the gentlemen were obliged to go on foot, walking to the knees, and often deeper, in water, sand, and mud. Only the lightning's vivid glare illuminated the sky, and rendered it, in effect, next moment still darker. I set off, but was glad to return for a

servant and a lantern: the latter was soon lost; and, with the utmost difficulty, I made my way, reaching home without hat or shoes. Nothing but the hope of being able to render assistance, in saving much valuable property, could have induced me to persevere, in opposition to the repeated admonitions of my sable attendant, that "Massa go drown, and Frankey too, and poor Roseau go in a sea this night." The water had entered the cellars; but we succeeded in excluding it from the house, which, fortunately, was constructed of mason-work to a considerable height. After remaining several hours in wet clothes, the storm shewed symptoms of abatement, and, suitable precautions taken, I went to bed, and slept soundly, although the peals of thunder and sheets of lightning would, under other circumstances, have driven sleep away. Next morning, I saw the water still making its way in torrents. On every side, were to be seen mounds of mud and sand; some of the houses of wood moved into those mounds, and others upset, altogether, by the mighty rush of waters; whilst hundreds of pigs, goats, poultry, &c., had, with other and more valuable property, been swept into the sea.

A meeting of the principal inhabitants and town wardens was immediately held, to direct the proper measures to be taken to embank the river and confine it within its proper channel. The negroes, from several of the adjoining estates, were

then set to work, to accomplish this undertaking, under the superintendance of an officer of engineers, who offered his services on the occasion. Another strong body of town negroes were employed in removing the sand and other incumbrances in the streets; whilst the inhabitants and their domestics were no less actively employed, in saving what had not been irreparably injured by the influx of water.

In a few days, Roseau presented nearly its usual appearance. Happily, no lives had been lost, nor any damage sustained by the shipping.—There are few evils without some alleviation; and whilst the inhabitants regretted their losses by the overflow of the river, they consoled themselves with the hope, that the recent storm would render the island more healthful. Accordingly, the months of August and September were more dry than usual; nor was any hurricane experienced this year; but in October the fever broke out with violence, and produced considerable mortality. I had been then six months in the colony, and was beginning to think I might escape attack, when a severe head-ache and insupportable lassitude compelled me to have medical advice. I was immediately discovered to have had fever on me for nearly twenty-four hours, and the most prompt and active measures were taken to arrest its progress. I became delirious, in a few hours more;

nor did consciousness return until I had so far recovered as to be able to sit up in bed, supported by pillows. I then was extremely sensible of my weak state, and the blisters still gave me much pain; but my appetite had returned, and I regained so much strength, in the course of a few days, as to be able to leave my chamber. I recovered steadily, and returned to business very soon.

In almost every year of excessive sickness in the West Indies, the loss of men has been greatly increased by delaying their removal,—either from the military commander's unwillingness to relinquish a post, *pro tempore*, or to avoid trouble. Surely, therefore, it is time that commanding officers of colonies or corps should profit by the experience of those who have preceded them. In such emergencies, there is no alternative but to encamp the troops at a distance, or distribute them on plantations, in detachments, which is always found to check the ravages of disease, and very often to produce an almost miraculous change, from a state of depression and despair, to renewed life and vigour. Nor is it of less consequence, to choose the proper season of the year to send Europeans to the West Indies, and reliefs and reinforcements to the regiments serving in the colonies. At the period I speak of, it was only with the different convoys that troops could be sent, unless embarked in men-of-war; a mea-

sure then seldom resorted to, except on the expedition to Egypt. The troops, sent to the West Indies, arrived, therefore, at nearly all seasons, from December to July; the former the very best, and the latter the worst, month in the year. Those who arrived in December or January had six months of the healthy season before them, to accustom them to the climate; but those who were landed in July seldom escaped an attack of fever, almost immediately; in consequence, many lives were lost, which, by attending to seasons, might probably have been saved. Of the difference which has been found to take place in the health and sickness of regiments, arriving in the West Indies at the end or in the middle of the year, instances innumerable might be adduced.

In time of peace, when there are so many ships unemployed, it cannot be difficult for the Transport-board to provide for the conveyance of any number of men. Long previous intimation is generally given by the commander-in-chief, of ships being required; and, were notices posted at Lloyd's, by the Transport-board, to-morrow, that a dozen or twenty vessels of proper size and equipments would be wanted a month hence, I am confident that double the number would be offered. This plan would be far more proper, far more economical, far more satisfactory to all parties, than to delay the embarkation till such time

as transports for the conveyance of reliefs for the West Indies have arrived from other service, and can be re-equipped. Adherence to such a system is pregnant with mischief.

The preservation of the troops is of far greater consequence than that the Transport-board should retain only a given number of transports in employment. It may also be worthy of the consideration of those in power, whether regiments which have been a year or two in garrison at Malta, Gibraltar, or the Ionian Islands, are not better fitted for service in the West Indies than those which are sent direct from Britain, and which might be sent, in the first instance, to replace those removed from Malta, and to the colonies. Perhaps, in addition to these suggestions, furnished by one familiar with, and wishing well to, the service, the testimony and experience of a gallant officer, General David Stewart, who has written an interesting and valuable account of the services of the Highland regiments, may not here be deemed out of place. Speaking of the loss of the 92nd regiment, from the climate of the West Indies, he says: "The brave 92nd, or Gordon Highlanders, were ordered to the West Indies about six years ago, and, landing in Jamaica in March, lost, in the course of four months, *more officers and men, by the fever*, than by the fire of the enemy, in an active war of twenty-two years; in the progress of

which, this regiment was *twenty-six times in battle.* The same gallantry, which made the fire of the enemy comparatively harmless, did not avail against the climate of the West Indies, when introduced at the most unhealthy season of the year. Had they been landed in the beginning of winter, in November, and had some months to season, it is probable that their constitutions would have withstood the climate, as well as those of their countrymen of the 42nd, who, during the years 1796 and 7, in a harassing warfare, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, only lost forty-nine men by fever, and a few from other complaints."

VISITS TO THE COUNTRY, AND TOUR ROUND DOMINICA.

After the termination of the hurricane months, I accompanied one of my young friends, on a tour of inspection, to the different plantations under his charge, in the absence of his uncle, lately sailed for England. It was early in November when we started, on horse-back, attended by two negro servants on foot, carrying supplies of linen and clothes. The ride, for the first few miles towards Grand Bay, is one of peculiar beauty and variety. Our route was by a gradually ascending road, through coffee-estates, possessed, at that time, by French families. Arriving at the summit of the highest hill, or Morne, far to the right were seen the town of Roseau, and the shipping at anchor in the roadstead; above, we beheld Morne Bruce, with the barracks, and soldiers, then under arms on parade—their bayonets glancing in the sun, and their music, at intervals, just reaching our ears. The country around us was verdant and beautiful;

the coffee trees were loaded with berries, of the deepest green and red; and the orange trees, with their fragrant and grateful produce, and the cocoa nuts and palmettos, so different from all others, arrested our notice as we passed along. At our feet, as it were, lay a wide expanse of ocean, with vessels on its bosom,—some near and some more remote. The islands of Martinico and St. Lucia were also visible in the distance. We were more delighted with the beauty of the scenery than annoyed by the difficulty of the roads; and, having set out at peep of day, at 8 o'clock we halted at the hospitable gate of a wealthy French planter, and partook of an excellent breakfast. The French have always been famed for making excellent coffee, which they take the first thing in the morning; and many English colonists adopt the same custom. This is followed, in an hour or two, by a second breakfast, "*à la fourchette*," which the French planter regards as his principal meal, and which consists of all the good things within his reach—such as ham and chicken, fish *caviched*, viz. prepared with spices, vinegar, &c. and eaten cold. As neither meat nor fish will keep above twenty-four hours in this climate, they must be prepared for immediate use. Caviched fish is a great dainty in the West Indies, and with sweetmeats, marmalade, &c. is always served at breakfasts.

After paying due honour to the hospitality of our host, we accompanied him in a walk round his plantation. We sallied out in our cotton jackets and white hats, with two or three negro boys at our heels, carrying refreshments in case of thirst overtaking us on the way. A Frenchman never goes out, even to dine with his neighbour, without a negro boy to take his horse and afterwards wait on him at table; a custom which is generally followed by the English inhabitants also. Having surveyed the different buildings on the estate, consisting of the mansion-house, drying-house for coffee, negro houses, &c., we proceeded to the coffee-gardens, plantain-walks, and Guinea-grass plots, forming, collectively, the prominent features of a coffee plantation in the West Indies.—The mansion-house was constructed of wood, built on a stone foundation: it was square, with galleries on three sides, having wooden blinds to admit the air and exclude the rain at pleasure. The shutters are seldom fastened except during very bad weather. A large *salle à manger*, or dining-room, with two bed rooms, occupied the interior space; and a wooden stair led up to a sort of large garret, divided into two by screens or half partitions of wood. One of these was the safe, or *dépôt*, for all sorts of household goods, required for family use; and the other was generally appropriated as a barrack-room to visitors.

When there are many visitors, the gentlemen are content to occupy sofas or mattresses spread in the hall or dining room, which is always considered more comfortable in the country, than a four-post bed in town. Indeed, I always slept sounder in the former than in the latter; but in the West Indies, a few hours only are passed in bed, and the dawn finds every one able to rise—springing from his pillow to enjoy the cool air and breeze, which are then delightful. The drying-house is a large building, generally of one but sometimes of two stories, to which the coffee is brought in baskets, or bags, from the esplanade, where it is sorted and cleared before delivery to the merchant, who generally purchases the planter's crop, and ships it for England. Some of the more opulent, however, ship it, on their own account, to merchants in England, and receive their supplies of negro clothing and provisions direct from them in return.

The drying-house also affords shelter for the family to walk in, during bad weather; and when the crop has been delivered, it is otherwise appropriated. The negro houses extended in two rows, at a short distance from the mansion-house. All the married negroes had a house to each family, and the men who had no families had a large house, properly fitted for their accommodation, like a barrack. But the negroes are very uxorious, and sometimes this barrack is nearly deserted, and the

proprietor called upon very often to provide a house for Quaco, Tom, or Jerry, when he tells his master—"Massa, me want take wife, you please." A store-house, hospital, stable, cattle-pens, and poultry-houses, complete the establishment. On extensive estates, these different buildings form small towns, containing from two to four or five hundred people.

In the hospital, the sick negroes are treated with the greatest care and attention, and nourished with every thing likely to promote their recovery. A physician is kept in regular pay to attend the estate; and nurses, who do no other work, are selected for the sick-house or hospital.

On every plantation, the slaves are allowed to raise pigs and poultry: they have garden-grounds, and are allowed half of Saturday to cultivate them; and to carry their poultry, yams, and fruits, to market on Sunday. Coffee-plantations are always beautiful, and the French planters are proud of shewing them to their English visitors from Roseau. To see the negroes all busily employed in weeding, picking, cleaning, and drying the coffee, was at once a new and interesting sight; and I was happy to observe unequivocal signs of content and cheerfulness prevailing amongst them. The field-labour on a coffee-plantation is not severe, and much fewer slaves are required than on other estates. The proprietors of coffee-estates generally raise

considerable quantities of plantains, yams, and other vegetables, which are daily or weekly sent to market, and the most trust-worthy negroes employed to dispose of them, and of all the different fruits which the island produces. The pine-apples and oranges are celebrated equally for their abundance and excellence.

On every estate, whether sugar or coffee, the working field-negroes are placed under the immediate *surveillance* of head-men, or drivers, whose business is to summon the gangs to the field at stated hours, and direct their labours. They were accustomed to carry a long whip of cow-skin, both as a badge of office, and to inflict punishment on the spot, if deemed necessary by the manager or overseers; but this badge of office has been ordered, by Act of Parliament, to be laid aside, and no punishment to be inflicted, until twenty-four hours after the commission of crime, and then in the presence of more than one white person.

Since the peace, the employment of the whip has been much lessened; and the regulation forbidding its use altogether in the case of females, will, ere long, make its horrid sound heard only when punishment is imperatively called for.

Returning to the mansion-house, we found preparation had been made for dinner previously to our departure. Frenchmen are sometimes regarded as severe masters. They certainly are more fa-

miliar with their slaves than the English. Our host returned to the house, leading by the hand two little negro children whom he had found playing in the sun, whilst their mothers were picking coffee. He ordered one of the servants to give them something to eat, observing, good-humouredly, that they would work for him by-and-by.

We dined at two o'clock, the general dinner-hour both on English and French estates, and then pursued our journey towards Grand Bay, where we proposed to pass the night. We now found the road becoming more difficult. The Island of Dominica is a chain of hills and valleys, or, rather, what the French term *Mornes*, leading to abrupt and frightful precipices, and deep ravines, almost inaccessible, except to the negroes. It has been compared to a sheet of paper, suddenly compressed in the hand. Its roads are, consequently, very bad—almost impracticable—except in the immediate icinity of Roseau. There was none at that time, which could be called a carriage road; nor was any carriage in use superior to a one-horse chaise, sometimes employed to convey ladies to balls, &c.

As the evening approached, we were anxious to arrive at our destination; and after sunset, this anxiety was increased by the sudden rustling of the snakes, (which are, however, harmless in Dominica, and some of the other islands, though in

Martinico and St. Lucia they are venomous,) as they brushed past us in the copsewood. The chirping of the lizards and scorpions—the hoarse and loud croaking of the frogs—the brilliant and luminous appearance of the fire-flies*—with the annoying buz of the myriads of mosquito attendants—all conspired to divert our attention from the path, which now lay along the edge of precipices, over which one false step would have plunged us. However, having a negro with us, well acquainted with the track, we at last arrived in safety. The manager was looking out for us,

* One of the beautiful peculiarities of a tropical climate, forcibly arresting the attention of every stranger, are the fire-flies, which, after sunset, fill the air, and emit a phosphoric light, similar to that of the glow-worm, only more red and brilliant, dancing around like the vivid sparks from a smith's anvil. These insects flutter about with a humming noise, and frequently settle in swarms, upon branches of trees, giving to them the semblance of so many pieces of timber, taken newly out of the fire. When viewed by day-light, they are not remarkable for elegance, resembling, in shape, a long beetle. In colour they are a dingy brown, and, like the glow-worm, carry their light in their tail. A cluster of two or three glow-worms will shine so brilliantly, as to excite general notice; but their brilliancy is as a candle to the sun, when compared with that of the fire-fly. Not two or three, but thousands of these creatures dance around, filling the air with a waving and uncertain glimmer, of the extreme beauty of which no words can convey an adequate idea.

and having performed a long day's journey, we retired pretty early to bed. In the morning, a little vinegar and water soon relieved us from the effects of the mosquito-bites, and we prepared to visit and inspect the plantation, that we might acquire a knowledge of its wants, its expected produce, the state of the negroes, &c. Proceeding to the field, we found the slaves in great glee, singing and encouraging each other. The overseer and manager reported favourably of the greater part; and some few, who had transgressed, were forgiven, on promise of better behaviour. A dram was given to each of the men, and some little presents to the women; and meat for Sunday's dinner was ordered to be distributed amongst the gang, which consisted of 160, all healthy and happy. Many were anxious inquirers about "old Massa," and whether he had arrived "in a England," and "when he come back."—"Young Massa, good too—he come and see awee [us] again, when crop time come;—we make plenty sugar, Massa."

We walked or rode over the greater part of the estate. The cane pieces shewed luxuriant growth, and were nearly fit to cut down; but crop time seldom begins before Christmas. The provision-grounds, grass-plots, cattle, mules, &c. all appeared in good condition.

The hospital contained only three or four in-

mates; one, an old man of eighty, who had been a driver on the estate, for many years, and who used to assume his place in the field, on the occasions of the attorney visiting the estate, long after he had been excused from work, on account of his age and feebleness; but he was now confined to bed.—The Africans are extremely attentive to, and careful of, their old people: to be *old*, secures the kind offices and care of their friends, and of all who know them; and negroes vie with each other, in displaying their kindness to their father or mother, *aunty* or *sissy*, for by all these affectionate appellations do they designate them, though not at all related.—This old man (Harry) was unable to be out, but his first inquiry of us was—"How old massa?—I neber see him again—me go dead soon now—God bless Massa—he always good to Harry, and to dem people here—we know Massa long time—he one good man, old Massa."

The next inquiries were directed to the stores of the estate, and what would be required at Christmas, in addition to those expected from England, an inventory of which was given to the manager. At Christmas, the negroes are allowed three holidays, besides new-year's day; and are supplied with new suits of clothes, and many other little comforts. We were now called on *to hold a Matrimonial Court*, and to hear appeals from an ill-used wife, or a jealous husband.—The negroes

are mostly married—some regularly by the clergyman, or justice of the peace, but the greater part only tacitly, and during the agreement of the parties. Unhappily, the custom in Africa, of the men having more than one wife, prevails in the colonies also. But a better day is dawning: the establishment of bishops, and additional parochial clergymen—the changing the market-day from Sunday, and the prohibition of labour on that day, with the founding of schools under the superintendance of the clergy, will be the means of introducing better morals.

At the time I now speak of, there was only one English clergyman in the island, and two Roman Catholic priests; and as the great bulk of the population, white and coloured, were Catholics, most of the slaves, who were baptized, were of that persuasion. Very few of the negroes, on the English plantations, had received any religious instruction, or had any means of obtaining it. Under such circumstances, as fair Helen occasioned a ten years' siege of Troy, and set the whole of Greece in martial array, so, in the plantations, it was sometimes nearly impossible for the managers to preserve the peace, and prevent the slaves of adjoining estates from proceeding to warfare, when a driver or head-man, or even a brother, (for a negro, who is attached to another, calls him brother,) was either disappointed of obtaining

a wife from the plantation, or had lost her by the superior influence or attractions of some other swain. At times, even the manager found it difficult to settle their differences, without military force, and a magistrate. The utmost promptitude was necessary, in order to secure their services; for a negro, labouring under the pangs of jealousy, or disappointment in love, will, at the risk of the severest punishment, neglect his work, reject his food, and even run away. To investigate and adjust such differences, the Matrimonial Court, as we termed it, was now opened; and, although our *experience*, it must be confessed, was not very great, in the intricate affairs of the heart, I believe we managed so as to give the parties, who came into it, no cause to repent having submitted their differences to our decision.

The first case was that of Fidele, a stout negro wench, with three pickininnies, i. e. children, at her feet, who accused her husband of having deserted her, for another wife on a neighbouring plantation, to whom he carried away all the poultry and provisions, and on whom he bestowed not only his company, but also the finery which Fidele thought herself entitled to.

The refractory husband admitted, that he now preferred Adelaide to Fidele, who had teazed him with her jealous fits, and *too much talk*, and driven him, he said, from his own house, and made mana-

ger no love him any more, and threaten to flog him. We found, however, that the lady was careful of her children, and willing to receive her deserter back again; and as he was made sensible of the risk he ran of losing his other fair, from whom he must be much away, and of incurring the manager's and attorney's displeasure, he promised to take leave of Adelaide, and henceforth live at home.

An old fellow of sixty, having lately entered into the connubial state with a young girl, who might have been his grand-daughter, complained, that *too much sweetheart came after Sally*, and that she no longer love *him own husband*. Sally's story was equally ready, and given with much candour and *naïveté*. She said, the old man had prevailed on her to *hab him*, and promised her plenty of fine dress—but that she really no love him—then, young negroes come tell her he go die soon, and want her take them, and *ueber* mind old man. She no do so—but this make old man jealous, and he want beat Sally, his poor wife, *for noting*.—We dismissed this case, with admonishing Sally to be kind to her husband; to allow of no followers, during his lifetime, and to choose a more *suitable* helpmate next; to which the distressed wife replied—*me neber hab old husband again—he no good for young girl—him jealous too much.*

A third case still awaited our decision, which

was one of some difficulty *to the bench.* A young girl, of the Congo nation, who had been but lately imported, and could hardly make herself understood, appeared in tears, and in great distress. Having called one of her countrymen to act as interpreter, she proceeded to tell us, that having been taken as the wife of a negro, belonging to the manager, then living on the estate, but since, gone to work at Roseau, she had completely *lost sight of him,* and now applied to young Massa, to restore her husband. This poor girl was, evidently, much attached to her husband, who was a truant only from necessity, as the distance precluded his coming often to see her. It was therefore settled, that the manager should recal him, and that he should be hired to work on the estate, or sold to it, if the proprietor agreed to purchase him.

Close to the mansion on this estate, is the house appropriated to the overseers and other white people; such as carpenters, coppersmiths, &c. These all live together, or, sometimes, agree to board with the manager; with whom the doctor, also, if resident, is an inmate. The managers are social and hospitable. Their salaries are good; and they have opportunities of rearing stock, poultry, &c., and hiring out their own negroes on job-work. The overseer's house is next to the manager's in point of comfort and convenience, each person

having a bed-room, besides a large hall, or common room. The hospital is always an airy building, raised considerably from the ground, by walls of stone and lime. So sensible are the negroes of the kindness they experience in illness, that, if offered their freedom, they have been frequently known to reply—"Massa, me bery well now—suppose I go sick, who take care of me den? who send Doctor, who give me wine and soup? Massa, me bery well. I no want free." Yet freedom is a great boon; and, to negroes who have learned trades, must be an object of earnest desire: they can earn good wages, and, if industrious, may become useful members of society.

The works are generally at some little distance from the buildings; and the negro-houses are in rows, on a line with them. The mill for grinding or bruising the sugar canes is driven by water, when it can be obtained, or by mules, when that is not the case. Windmills are in general use in Antigua, St. Christopher's, and other islands, but not in Dominica. The boiling-house is a large building containing coppers for boiling; coolers, strainers, and all the apparatus necessary for the process of making sugar. The distillery for making rum adjoins; and the store-house for both, after being put into the cask or puncheon, and before it is shipped for Europe, is also contiguous to the boiling-house. These, with a large

shade, or mogass-house, for the cane trash, (so called after passing through the mill,) constitute *the works* on every estate.

The negro-houses are cottages, neatly thatched with palm or plantain leaves. Some have floors of wood, and are well furnished with a bed, cooking utensils, &c.; but this depends on the station and industry of the occupiers. The negro tradesmen, such as coopers, carpenters, &c. are allowed, at their spare hours, to make tubs, tables, chairs, &c. all of which, as well as their pigs, poultry, &c. they can take to the market, for their own advantage. On well-managed estates, where the negroes have been long resident, many of them possess hoards of money, which they deposit with the manager, or are, at all times, ready to lend him. The newly-imported negroes were worst off, so long as the slave-trade existed. On their arrival, they were put under charge of the *old negroes*, to be taught the requisite duties.

The negroes on an estate are divided into gangs, under the direction of the drivers, who have their regular field-work allotted to them; and, when that is finished, they proceed in quest of wood, water, or grass, as may be wanted. They then labour on their grounds until the hour of rest. Formerly, the negroes were employed in the field from sun-rise till sun-set; an hour for break-

fast, and two for dinner, being the only intervals from labour. The present system is infinitely preferable. If clever, the negroes often finish their allotment by three or four o'clock; and it is becoming the practice, for the proprietors to hire some of them to do additional work on the estate, or to allow them to work for others.

The children are taken care of, during their mothers' absence in the field, by the old women no longer equal to field-labour. They have not much trouble with their young charges, who, receiving food, require little or no raiment; indeed, will not wear it until six or seven years old. The climate admits of this nudity; and the working negroes, whether in town or country, consider a pair of trowsers, or a petticoat, quite sufficient to cover them, and to stop all complaints from passengers, on the score of decency. After the sun goes down, however, it is different: they then feel the cold very sensibly, and crowd around the fire, which is generally kept blazing, either in the kitchen or before their doors; and whilst Europeans consider a single sheet as, sometimes, an incumbrance, the negroes will sit or lie shivering under, perhaps, a *pair* of blankets.

It is remarked, that during the season of making sugar, the negroes, as well as the cattle, appear in higher health and condition than at any other

time. It is certain that the juice of the sugar-cane is highly nourishing and fattening, both to man and beast; and the negroes are allowed to consume as much as they choose.

VISITS TO THE COUNTRY CONTINUED.

LEAVING Grand Bay, at sun-rise, we proceeded towards the next estate we meant to visit, and the prospect, on all sides, was again new and interesting. Martinico appeared very distinctly, being only twenty miles distant, and St. Lucia was also visible. We had now got fairly *to windward.*

Our road was still rugged, precipitous, and dangerous, even in daylight. After a fatiguing ride of several hours, we reached the fine estate of Castle Bruce, then one of the most productive in the island. All looked fair and promising. My companion had been anxious to reach this estate, as two of the negroes had lately absconded, and were supposed to have gone off into the woods, and joined the *run-aways.* A military force had been some time at Grand Bay, to protect the estates to windward; as attacks, by these people, some years before, were not uncommon. In one of these, the gentleman on the estate, assisted only by the overseers and house-servants, and a lady, his sister-in-law, who loaded the musquets,

resisted, most heroically and successfully, until relieved by the military.

At the time of our arrival, we found the manager by no means at ease. The ground provisions had been more than once dug up; the plantain trees robbed, and stock carried away. Not unfrequently, the insurgents carried off, as prisoners, those whom they met with unarmed, and could not induce to join them by fair means; and it was, consequently, judged necessary to write to the commanding-officer at Grand Bay, for a party of military. On assembling the negroes, it was found that they had no cause of complaint; and that the late desertion of two of their number was viewed with great uneasiness. At length, we heard a great blowing of shells, and horns, and other noises, proceeding from the fields; and, soon afterwards, one of the drivers appeared, and announced the return of the two absentees, escorted by a party of negroes from an adjoining estate, on which they had been apprehended, on their way back to Castle Bruce, of their own accord. On inquiry, it appeared that they had been surprised by an armed body, and carried off. They were, therefore, rewarded for returning; and their good conduct was reported to the proprietor of the estate in England. They were also despatched as guides to the military, sent in pursuit of the run-aways, whose camp was found deserted.

Here, we found two droghers landing supplies of lumber, staves, &c. for this and the neighbouring estates, preparatory for crop time, and bringing rum, on their return-voyage to Roseau,—the residue of the last year's crop.

These droghers are sloops or schooners, of from thirty to one hundred tons burthen, and are generally navigated by a white or coloured master, and negro crews. The sugar and coffee, from the estates along the coast, are all shipped in these vessels, and in lighters, navigated by slaves, on the leeward side of the island. Canoes are used in all the colonies, as light boats for conveying passengers, fishing, &c. They are easily managed, well adapted for the surf, and always ready on the beach, with the boatmen within call, at the different towns in the West Indies. These boatmen are generally slaves, who are provided with a boat, and who pay their masters a certain sum of money weekly, appropriating the overplus to themselves.

Having passed two days at Castle Bruce, we proceeded next for Rosalie, another fine estate, lying in our route to Prince Rupert's. Thence, we had the pleasure of the Doctor's company, who was going on his weekly visits. Our road still lay along the edge of a precipitous chain of heights, rising in the back-ground into the fleecy clouds which often covered their tops. After-

wards, along the sea-shore, the road became more practicable.

A few years before, Rosalie had been the scene of most savage and cruel attacks; in one of which, the run-aways, unfortunately, succeeded in surprising and murdering all the white people on the estate, as well as several negroes; burning the works and houses, and carrying off much valuable property. A war of extermination ensued, and many of the savage and blood-thirsty depredators were killed in the woods, by the regular soldiers and militia; but the duty was found so severe, that a corps of free blacks was also formed; and, at last, the rebels surrendered, on condition of their lives being spared.

Our succeeding destination was to Sugar Loaf estate, situated within a mile of the garrison of Prince Rupert's. Every thing in the plantations was going on well, notwithstanding the health of the white people was in a deplorable condition: the manager was ill; one overseer was dead; and the other was scarcely able to leave his bed.

As I had business in the garrison, we rode over, next day, to call on some officers there, who obligingly accompanied us in riding round the works and fortifications, and insisted on our staying dinner.*

* The fortress of Prince Rupert's, (so called from Prince

Next day, we proceeded to Point Round and Macoucherie. We called at several plantations, which were now very numerous. We were again

Rupert, who commanded an armament, destined for Hispaniola, which put in to wood and water here, upwards of a century ago,) stands on two hills, having a narrow valley between them. The outer hill projects abruptly into the sea, over which it rises to a considerable height: on its top are two heavy long 32 pounders; with quarters, in time of war, for 200 officers and men. Farther down, there is another barrack, with an hospital and houses. A good road leads from Fort Shirley to the top. Fort Shirley is a regular fortification with two heavy batteries commanding the entrance of the bay, from this side, and under whose fire it is believed no ship or fleet could remain for any length of time, without being destroyed. Here also are barracks, bomb-proof magazines, &c. In the valley between the two hills, or cabarites, (as they are named, from the numbers of goats, which formerly de-pastured on their sides,) are situated the engineer officers' barrack, the Quarter-master-general's buildings, and a parade-ground, extending to the barrier on that side, which faces the sea, looking towards Guadaloupe, and where there are also heavy batteries, and barracks for 200 men. On the other hill, are barracks for 300 men, with batteries of heavy guns, commanding the whole of the inner defences. A swamp, half a mile broad, comes close to the base of this outer hill, the side of which is steep, and nearly inaccessible. At the barrier on the other side, facing the town of Prince Rupert's, is a battery with heavy guns and mortars; and another on the face of the hill, higher up. —The access to the garrison, from the sea, is by a fosse, or stone causeway, immediately under the guns of Fort Shirley. In time of peace, no white troops are stationed there, the station being

on the leeward side of the island; the roads were much better, and the country was more thickly settled. We also passed the habitations of several families of free blacks, fishermen, or mechanics, who earned a livelihood by their industry. The moon arose ere we reached the end of our journey, fatigued with a long day's ride. In tropical climates, the moon's light is more brilliant than in Europe, enabling one to read the smallest print.

Having examined the state of the negroes, and of the buildings, and of the crop expected in this plantation, (Macoucherie,) and finding that we were obliged to wait for the arrival of a carpenter, we rode up to pay a visit to one of our Roseau friends, then residing on his plantation, high up, in the very gorge of the mountains, and close to the woods. With him we spent a pleasant day, and, early next morning, we betook ourselves to the woods, to shoot "Ramies," the principal game-bird to be met with here, resembling the partridge in size, but more the grouse, in bitterness of flavour. These birds are found

very unhealthful.—The bay is a place of rendezvous for the British men-of-war to supply themselves with wood and water. The town of Prince Rupert's, next to Roseau in size and population, is about half a mile from the garrison, and runs along the bay. It contains some tolerably good houses and stores, and a tavern for the reception and accommodation of visitors.

only in the woods, and never near to the towns or large estates; yet they are easily shot, as they never fly far, but, moving from one tree to another, with plaintive cries, seem at a loss how to escape.

Returning in the evening to Macoucherie, we still found that the carpenter had not made his appearance. There had been much sickness amongst the white people on this estate: a new manager from Antigua had lately arrived; the overseers had died; and the negroes were entirely under the direction of new people.

Our next morning's ride led us over the Grand Savannah, a headland stretching into the sea, covered only with grass, which is generally so stinted and burnt up as to afford but little pasturage for the cattle, sheep, and goats browzing upon it. Having reached the other side, we rapidly approached the fine sugar estates adjoining to Roseau. Our road to the town lay under Morne Daniel, where was a small barrack, with a guard of soldiers. Woodbridge's Bay affords excellent anchorage for ships of the largest tonnage, and much better shelter than the roadstead of Roseau. The fine estate of Woodbridge's (called after the proprietor, and now in possession of his son,) reaches to the edge of the river; on the opposite side of which commences the town of Roseau, where we arrived, after a tour of twelve days, well pleased to rejoin our friends.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS IN THE WEST INDIES.

As the Christmas holidays approach, there is a perceptible increase of spirit and activity in the whole West India population—white, coloured, and black. To the slaves, it is not only the season of increased supplies of food and raiment, but also of release from all labour, not absolutely necessary. The towns are filled with happy and merry groups of negroes, in their best attire, parading the streets, and displaying their various finery; for blackey, in his way, wishes to be the very *pink of fashion*, and *to be looked at*, as well as his master or mistress. It is highly amusing to observe the men *walking* with their *Dulcineas*, or rather *sailing along* the streets *in full blow*, courting admiration, often in dancing costume, silk stockings, satin shoes, &c.; the day being devoted to visits, and the night to dancing.—In this display, the town's negroes and people of colour take the lead; the estate negroes being generally a

little behind in the *fashions*, and in *fashionable deportment*.

In the French islands, and those which have been originally settled by the French, these holidays are farther enlivened by the Catholic processions which take place, by the celebration of high mass in the churches, and by the merry groups of morrice dancers, or masqueraders, who go from house to house in the evenings, dancing waltzes, &c. Amongst the English colonists, the gentlemen make a round of forenoon visits, and call on every family with whom they are acquainted, and within reach, to wish them the compliments of the season; a pleasant custom, only that the profuse administration of cake and wine sometimes proves too powerful for weak stomachs. Christmas-day is always devoted to family dinner-parties, with liberal invitations to those who are strangers, or without family ties. As in England, small bands of music go from house to house, and from street to street, enlivening the scene, and making their Christmas collection. It has long been the practice of the colonies to proclaim martial law, and to put the different regiments and companies of militia on permanent duty, on the 24th of December, and during the holidays. This is a measure of necessary precaution; attempts having, at times, been made at this season, to excite rebellion amongst the slave population. The

establishment of martial law is notified by the firing of two guns, and hoisting a red flag at the batteries; and it is annulled by the same ceremony, substituting the British colours for the red flag.

In the country, the holidays are kept in the same festive manner as in the towns, and the militia duty is performed with equal strictness. The militia is officered by proprietors and merchants, and composed of all the white men able to bear arms, and under sixty years of age; and by all free coloured men and blacks, who are formed into companies by themselves, and officered by whites.—The days for mounting guard are generally the three Christmas holidays, and new year's day; after which, the negroes return to their work, with renewed alacrity. The season of crop-making now commences, and that, invariably, produces signs of renewed *life* and activity amongst all classes, sexes, and ages.

At Christmas, balls and parties are also the order of the day. The subscription balls, generally, commence about the new year. It might be supposed, that, in such a climate, dancing would be attended with great fatigue; but this is not the case: on the contrary, the ladies often, instead of retiring to rest after a ball, only change their dresses, and proceed into the country on *marooning parties*, as they are called; that is, parties of pleasure, hastily resolved on, and immediately

carried into effect. They generally resort to the woods, or to a river's side. At the first of these parties I attended, the dancing did not terminate till four o'clock in the morning. An hour afterwards, the company set out, some riding, and others walking, servants following with baskets of meat, wine, &c. Having selected a spot on the river's bank, and an arbour and seats having been formed, breakfast was prepared; after which, the ladies read, worked, or played at cards—perhaps *nid-nodded*—whilst the gentlemen fished, or shot, or read, as their several tastes or fancies impelled. At one o'clock, they began to look out for the arrival of the servants from town, with additional supplies for dinner, when they commenced making sangaree and punch. Soon after two, we assembled near the river—took refreshment—again dispersed in little sporting parties—rejoined the ladies in their bower by four o'clock, and commenced a vigorous attack on our *pic-nic* dinner of cold fowls, ham, pigeon-pie, &c. After taking our wine, the gentlemen once more flew off in detachments, till recalled for coffee.

Under the shades of night we reached town; and, after some music—dancing reels till ten o'clock—and demolishing a *devilled* turkey for supper, we drank *good night*, and the party separated to enjoy that repose which the fatigue of the day and former night had prepared them for.

ARRIVAL OF THE GOVERNOR—RUNAWAY NEGRO WAR—THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

Soon after the commencement of the new year, the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone arrived from England, as Governor of the island of Dominica. He had previously commanded the garrison there, was greatly esteemed by all classes, and his arrival, therefore, was welcomed by the strongest testimonies of public favor and approbation. He was in the full vigour of youth; possessed of the highest talents, of the finest form, and of the most insinuating and polished manners. His high connections, both by birth and marriage, had always ensured him access to the best society in England; and his relationship to Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, who was his brother-in-law, seemed to promise increasing rank and honors. He was now a widower, having lost his amiable lady during his former residence in the colony.—A round of entertainments succeeded his arrival;

government-house was again the seat of hospitality and gaiety; and the governor's parties and balls were looked forward to, as the most interesting events.

Another occurrence, which, at this time, occupied the public attention, was the arrival of the fleet from England, with large supplies of merchandize, and stores, and many passengers. At no time had the colony been in a more flourishing state: it had been healthy for twelve months; trade was brisk; the merchants were prosperous; and the estates were producing, and promising to produce, large crops of sugar and coffee. The high prices of West India produce in England had raised the fortunes, and, of course, the spirits of the proprietors. These high prices, however, induced an excess of speculation, which subsequently proved injurious.

This sunshine of prosperity was also obscured by the incursions of the run-away slaves, of whose renewed depredations the governor now received weekly notice from the managers and attorneys of the estates nearest to their camps and places of resort. Applications for protection soon followed; and parties of the 9th West India Regiment were detached with orders to pursue and attack the rebels. Proclamations were also issued by the governor and council, offering rewards for the apprehension of their chiefs, and for every run-away

slave brought into Roseau; and pardon to all who should voluntarily surrender within twenty days. This produced no salutary effect: on the contrary, the insurgents became even more daring, and carried their incursions into the town of Roseau itself; where a proclamation *from them* was found one morning, offering a reward for the capture of the governor! By some, however, this was believed to have been the *waggish* trick of a certain white inhabitant, a member of the assembly, and no *admirer* of his excellency.

It was at length resolved, by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council and assembly, though not without strong opposition, to commence a regular war of extermination, if, before the expiration of twenty days, the run-aways should not have surrendered at discretion. Few, if any, came in: martial law was then proclaimed for forty days, and the whole colony assumed a warlike aspect. The militia furnished guards for the town; and several strong parties of the regular troops, chiefly of the 9th West India Regiment, were detached, with guides, to trace, and, if possible, come up with the insurgents. Other detachments of the 68th Regiment proceeded from Morne Bruce on similar duty, through a most difficult and almost inaccessible country. One detachment, more fortunate than the rest, overtook a party in the woods, surrounded them, and brought them prison-

ers to Roseau, where several of them were executed in the market-place. The troops sent on this duty suffered severely from fatigue and privation. One of the detachments of the 9th West India Regiment fell into an ambuscade, laid by the rebels, who, having dug pits, and planted sharp-pointed stakes in them, covered them slightly over, and then allowed themselves to be followed by the soldiers, and thus decoyed them into the pitfalls. The run-aways, at the same time, commenced an attack, and made a regular stand; hoping to complete the destruction of the party, and to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition. In this, however, they did not succeed. They were soon put to flight; and, being encountered by a party of the 68th, who were near at hand, several of them were killed and wounded, and others taken, amongst whom was one of their chiefs.

Military detachments continued to be employed in the harassing service of scouring the mountains and fastnesses; and apprehensions being entertained of the rebels attempting to set fire to the town, an additional picquet, from the garrison of Morne Bruce, was put on duty, at evening-gun-fire, and withdrawn at sun-rise. Several more of the run-aways were now ordered for execution in the market-place, and the remainder of the prisoners were shipped off for the Spanish main. At length, in consequence of the energetic measures

pursued, a general surrender was proposed, and accepted, on condition of their lives being spared.

The termination of this warfare was strongly felt throughout the island; as, during its continuance, trade and cultivation had been much retarded, and the colonists kept in a state of unceasing agitation. Their alarm was increased, by the knowledge, that the estate negroes had been tampered with by the run-aways, and repeated offers and invitations been made that they should join them. Fortunately, these invitations were uniformly rejected.

Respecting the conduct of this warfare, there existed a great difference of opinion, in the council and assembly, and also throughout the community. A regular opposition to the governor, formed at this crisis, continued to increase, until it became extremely virulent on both sides. It was contended, that the measures taken against the run-aways were unnecessarily cruel, and the execution of *so many* was deemed a sacrifice of human lives, which might have been spared. The case, however, called for prompt and effective measures: it was necessary to show the slave population the consequences of rebellion; and the punishment of all who took part with them was equally essential. Some free people of colour, *suspected* of assisting them, were shipped off from the island,

with little ceremony, during the continuance of martial law.

When the red flag was hauled down, and martial law discharged, it was a sort of jubilee to all classes—civil and military. The council and assembly passed votes of thanks to the officers and men, who had been employed, and also to the militia, for their less active, but equally necessary, services.

During the continuance of the warfare, it was observed, that the privateers and row-boats from the neighbouring French island of Guadaloupe had been more than usually daring and troublesome; often coming into the different bays around the island, and even landing their people, no doubt, with the intention of opening an intercourse with the run-aways. Fortunately, at this period, the garrison of Guadaloupe was weak; the communication with France had become very difficult and precarious; and the naval supremacy of Britain rendered it nearly impossible for them to receive regular supplies of men or stores. Had the governor of Guadaloupe possessed the means of attacking Dominica, there was no doubt that his activity and enterprize would have led him to make the attempt.

On one of the occasions alluded to, a daring attack was made—in the outset successfully—by a

French privateer, on the shipping in the roadstead of Roseau. A large sloop, (drogher,) armed with six guns, had arrived during the night, deeply laden with sugar and rum, from Prince Rupert's bay, and had anchored, near the river's mouth, nearly out of the view of Fort Young. The privateer had hoisted Danish colours, kept her men below, and followed the drogher, without being at all suspected; keeping a little off shore, until midnight, when she came alongside, boarded, and carried her off without noise. She was proceeding to tow her away, when, getting within view of the Fort, and having no lights up, they were fired on. The master of the drogher had come on shore. Hearing the guns, and missing his vessel, an alarm was immediately given; and, in a very short time, forty men, from the garrison of Morne Bruce, and as many of the St. George's militia, were embarked in a fine fast-sailing armed schooner, and in pursuit of the privateer and drogher, the owner of which was a captain, and a great favourite, in the St. George's corps. The moon rising at two o'clock gave us a full view of the vessels, becalmed, at no great distance, under the Grand Savannah, and both rowing lustily to get away. We, however, caught the land breeze, by keeping from under the high land; we soon overtook the drogher; and, after some resistance, recaptured her. The privateer was a large, well-equipped

vessel, and boldly lay-to for us; but, after a close engagement with musquetry and great guns, finding that she was getting the worst of it, she took advantage of our mainsail coming down, and sheered off, with all sail set, towards Guadaloupe. On our side, no one was killed, and but a few slightly wounded; but the privateer, as we afterwards ascertained, suffered severely from our musquetry, which swept the decks, and drove the crew below. Some wounded Frenchmen were also found in the drogher, the guns of which had been repeatedly fired at us on our approach.

The regular soldiers had been employed on this business, in violation of the general orders of Sir Thomas Trigge, who conveyed his censure to Governor Johnstone, by noticing the deviation from the rules and regulations of the service, and requiring strict attention to them in future. This led to much altercation and unpleasant correspondence between Sir Thomas and the governor.

From the promptness with which this attempt, to cut out vessels from the road, and from under the guns of Fort Young, was met, the experiment was never tried again. Measures, however, of increased vigilance and precaution were taken; and, as there were no men-of-war, nor even any prize-vessels, in the road, application was now made to the admiral, (the late Sir John Duckworth,) who then commanded on the Leeward Island station,

to send a small vessel, to cruize round the island, for its protection.

At the end of this year the fleet from England arrived, with our friends on board, who had left us eighteen months before; bringing with them several young ladies and gentlemen, their relatives. I need scarcely say, that they were welcomed back with equal marks of regard and attention from the inhabitants as were shewn on their departure. Dinners and balls followed in quick succession, and my amiable young friends (for such they were to me, from our first acquaintance and introduction, and such they have continued through life,) were initiated in all the mysteries of West Indian gaiety and fashion.

The Danish and Swedish islands of St. Martin, Santa Cruz, St. Bartholomew, &c. surrendered to the forces under Sir Thomas Trigge and Admiral Duckworth, about this time; and, soon afterwards, the joyful news of peace—of the peace of Amiens—was received at Barbados and Martinico, and quickly circulated throughout the islands. The news was equally unexpected by all classes, from the governor to the humble slave, as it was not known that any negociations were in progress. It gave great satisfaction to many at first, before it was considered in all its bearings; but the surrender of the conquered colonies of Martinico, Tobago, and Demerara, to their former

masters, proved extremely detrimental to the interests of the English planters and merchants, who had settled in those islands. The arrival of a second despatch-vessel from England soon brought the intelligence of the ratification of the treaty; with orders to restore the captured colonies, at times appointed, to the French armaments, which were preparing to sail from France, to take possession of them.

Illuminations and rejoicings, in honour of the peace, took place in the West Indies, as in every other part of the British dominions, although, even at that early period, it was doubtful whether it ought to be regarded otherwise than as an "armed truce."

In the course of a few weeks, the white population of Dominica received a considerable addition, as many English residents, merchants, and others, and some French, removed from Martinico, with their property, families, and slaves. We learned, also, that Dominica having been first settled by the French, and ceded to England only at the peace, in 1782, Napoleon had endeavoured, though without success, to bargain for its restitution. Forming, from its local situation, the connecting link between the French colonies of Martinico and Guadaloupe, its possession was very desirable to him; and, when the war was renewed, he failed not to attempt its recovery.

ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH ARMAMENT —INSURRECTION AT GUADALOUPE— WAR IN ST. DOMINGO, &c.

EVERY day's experience shewed that the peace of Amiens would not prove advantageous to the colonies, and considerable dissatisfaction prevailed respecting its terms. The arrival of a French frigate from Brest, and many merchant vessels, were fore-runners of several armaments, with troops to garrison the three colonies which were to be given up to French and Dutch dominion, in virtue of the treaty. A friendly intercourse had commenced between the English governors and commanders-in-chief in the West Indies, and the French governor of Guadaloupe; and civilities of every kind had been passing between them. We were, however, again fated to behold war—a civil war—raging around us. The French garrison of Guadaloupe had been reduced, by disease, to a mere handful of European troops; and the people of colour there, and free blacks, who were

numerous and well armed, thought the present a fit opportunity, before reinforcements arrived, to endeavour to wrest the government of the island from the hands of the white inhabitants, and to re-obtain that ascendancy, which they had been allowed to possess some years before, under the savage reign of Victor Hugues, the scourge of the West Indies, the detested enemy of the British. So secret and well concerted were their measures, that they obtained possession of the principal forts and strong holds of the island, almost without resistance. The French governor, (Rear Admiral La Crosse,*) with his wife and family, and many officers and public functionaries, fled for refuge to Dominica; and great was the astonishment of the inhabitants of Roseau, on rising in the morning, to see a French frigate at anchor in the roadstead, with colours flying, and, soon afterwards, to hear martial law proclaimed, in consequence of the insurrection at Guadaloupe. Governor Johnstone adopted the most *rigid measures*, to prevent all strangers of colour from landing in the island. These were neither unnecessary, nor

* This officer commanded "Les Droits des Hommes," of 80 guns, during the war, and was attacked, and driven ashore on the coast of France, by Sir Edward Pellew, now Lord Exmouth, who then commanded the Indefatigable frigate, assisted by the Amazon, Captain Reynolds, which, not being able to clear the shore, was also wrecked.

ill-timed, as attempts were repeatedly made, to introduce incendiaries. Even in Guadaloupe, however, the rebellion extended only to the people of colour; as the slaves did not join them in any great numbers, and even witnessed the departure of their white masters with regret and dismay. Most of these had been permitted to embark, and to take some property with them, in the early stage of the business; and Dominica was, consequently, crammed with refugees, both civil and military. Admiral La Crosse was received, with his family, in the kindest manner, by Governor Johnstone, at whose house he remained for many weeks; whilst the inhabitants of all ranks, and the officers of the garrison, vied with each other in their hospitality to these unfortunate people.

The vigilance and anxiety of the governor were great and unremitting, in proportion to our vicinity to the seat of rebellion. All intercourse with Guadaloupe had been forbidden by proclamation; but information was daily obtained, from neutrals, of the state of affairs there; and the arrival of many French vessels, from Europe, made the port of Roseau, at this time, the *dépôt* of French merchandise.—Admiral La Crosse remained there until the restoration of Martinico to the French took place, when he sailed for that island, to concert measures for the attack of Guadaloupe, as soon as the expected armament from France should

arrive. By the rebels, a new government had been formed, and people of colour appointed to all the colonial offices. Regiments, also, had been raised, and trained with indefatigable activity. Many of the coloured men had been employed in the French armies, and some of them even educated at the military academies in France. Through the arrival of numbers of American vessels, with cargoes of flour and salt provisions, they were enabled to obtain large supplies for the forts and garrisons.

Several regiments, which had been longest in the West Indies, and had now been ordered for England, were detained until the issue of affairs at Guadaloupe, their present state not allowing the commanders-in-chief to send home either ships or regiments.—In the town of Roseau, we were all, one night, unexpectedly put under arms. The governor had fully relied on the allegiance of the English part of the coloured population; but many of the men of colour were French; and it was surmised that they had a strong sympathy with their brethren in Guadaloupe, now in arms against their legitimate government. To try their temper, therefore, and to put the regular garrison, consisting of the 68th regiment, under Major Scott, on the alert, Governor Johnstone ordered an alarm to be fired from Fort Young, at one o'clock in the morning. This immediately called

us all from bed: in a quarter of an hour, the whole of the St. George's regiment appeared on their parade ground, in marching order; and the 68th, in the same time, had arrived from Morne Bruce, and were ready for action. Not a man was absent.—This alarm was made to answer another purpose. Parties were sent out to apprehend several persons, suspected of having been at Guadaloupe, with no friendly intentions. Such of them as were taken, were sent off without ceremony. On this occasion, the French refugée-officers and colonists came forward, and handsomely offered their services to the governor, requesting, in case of danger, to be furnished with arms, and employed in the way most likely to be advantageous to the public defence. The masters and seamen of the merchant vessels also tendered their services to man the forts, should it be necessary to withdraw any part of the regular force for other service.

At last, the long and anxiously expected armament from France, destined to re-take and to restore the colony of Guadaloupe to the authority of its lawful masters, arrived at Martinico. It had left the French ports, in company with a powerful fleet and army, intended for the conquest of St. Domingo. It was believed in France, that little, if any, resistance would be offered by the coloured insurgents at Guadaloupe, and that, after

leaving a sufficient garrison, the remainder would soon be at liberty to assist in the reduction of St. Domingo.

The Guadaloupe army, under the command of General Richespense, (a brave and experienced officer,) consisted of 7000 men. It was embarked in five sail of the line and several frigates. Having spent a few hours with General Johnstone, at government-house, Admiral La Crosse and General Richespense lost no time in proceeding on the important object of their destination. They were accompanied by many of the French officers, functionaries, and others who had sought refuge in Dominica; and by English merchants who carried supplies for the French army, and received bills of exchange on France, drawn by the French authorities. The commanders lost no time in disembarking the troops, and summoning the insurgents to surrender the forts; but, aware that they had gone too far tamely to submit, they, after some shew of negociation, gave proof that *force* only could regain possession of the colony. They fought bravely; but neither their courage nor experience could enable them to withstand the conquerors of Italy and Germany; and, in a short time, the insurgents were driven from Basse-terre, and all the ports along the coast. They, consequently, retreated into the interior, and to Palmiste, one of the strongest posi-

tions in the West Indies, where, for a considerable time, they bade defiance to the attacks of the French army. In the commencement of the insurrection, the loss of lives had been comparatively small; but, when serious opposition was offered to the landing of the French army, the struggle for conquest and supremacy became severe, and the contest bloody. Several of the insurgent chiefs were taken in arms, and executed with summary justice. From the day of landing, proclamations had been issued, offering pardon to all coloured inhabitants who should lay down their arms, and quietly return to their occupations, with the exception only of their leaders. These measures produced good effects: every defeat of the insurgents lost them many followers; but the severity, though necessary, as respected the leaders of the insurrection, led to a protracted resistance in the interior; and, at last, General Richespense and the Governor agreed to terminate the contest by sparing their lives, and sending them to France, to be at the disposal of the government. Most of them, however, contrived to escape to America in neutral vessels.

The termination of this contest was of great importance to the British colonies, as well as to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe: it released them from much anxiety; and it allowed the commander-in-chief to make arrangements for sending

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to England the regiments and ships of war whose period of service had expired. At this time, the 9th West India regiment was relieved at Prince Rupert's by the 4th West India regiment from Santa Cruz, which colony had been restored on the peace. The arrival of this corps, although subsequently the cause of much trouble and anxiety, was regarded as a fortunate occurrence. Governor Johnstone was colonel of the regiment; he had formed it in the colony; and the officers had almost all served in the island before, in other regiments.

The island of Guadaloupe having been restored to the French republic, and a sufficiently strong garrison left for its protection from domestic foes, the remainder of the troops were re-embarked for St. Domingo in the ships of war. On their arrival at that once fine and flourishing colony, they found the formidable army that had landed there under the command of General Le Clerc, already greatly reduced by the climate, and in a far greater degree than by the sword. Although the blacks had, on some occasions, made an obstinate resistance, they had, by this time, been driven into the interior, where they had taken refuge in the hill forts, constructed by Toussaint. Under these circumstances, the arrival of nearly 4,000 men from Guadaloupe was a great and very seasonable reinforcement. Soon afterwards, the war of

St. Domingo assumed the character of *a war of extermination* on both sides, and scenes of cruelty and horror took place, which have seldom, if ever, been equalled. These are amply detailed in the historical records of the year 1802; and the description of them given in the writer's presence, by French officers who witnessed them, and subsequently returned *(a few out of very many,)* to Guadaloupe, and visited their friends in Dominica, will never be effaced from his remembrance. The fatal effects of the West India climate, combined with other circumstances, compelled the remains of this once powerful army to seek refuge and protection under the guns of the British men-of-war. To avoid the fury of their black enemies, they were glad, on the renewal of the war with England, to surrender themselves to the British commanders on the Jamaica station.

At this period, the trade of Dominica was flourishing, a considerable addition to it having risen out of the state of affairs at Guadaloupe. Of the large supplies required for the French armaments, much was furnished from Martinico and Dominica.

On the surrender of Martinico to the French, in virtue of the treaty of Amiens, many British merchants removed to Dominica, who had been carrying on business successfully, but who declined remaining under the French flag.

Although Governor Johnstone's arrival had been hailed with acclamations of joy, by all ranks, a regular opposition, to his government had, by this time, been formed. A member of the assembly, who liked *to live in hot water, as well as in a warm climate,* had early taken the lead in this opposition; and his Excellency's continued and unwarrantable interference with the public officers of the colony, and his attempts to effect their removal, by preferring charges which could not be substantiated, and which were discountenanced, both by the commander in the West Indies, and the government in England, completely estranged the minds of the colonists from their once highly popular governor. This, and the mutiny of his regiment, (the 8th West India,) the particulars of which are now to be related, led to his ultimate recall, and loss of rank in the service.

MUTINY OF THE 8TH WEST INDIA REGIMENT AT PRINCE RUPERT'S.

THE 8th West India Regiment landed at Prince Rupert's, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, who, having gone to Europe, for the recovery of his health, left it under charge of Major Gordon. It will be supposed, that the news of the mutiny, received at Roseau, by express, occasioned no slight alarm.

On the arrival of the intelligence, that the mutineers had put to death their officers, and every white person within reach, so strong was the apprehension that these proceedings were the first step towards a general insurrection amongst the slaves, that the white inhabitants only whispered their terrors to each other, afraid to declare, in the hearing of the black population, *all* that had taken place at Prince Rupert's. The governor, however, lost not a moment in summoning the council, to whom he declared his intention of immediately embarking with the garrison of Morne Bruce, (the gallant 68th regiment,) and

part of the St. George's regiment of militia, to attack the mutineers in their strong-hold, and to send off immediate expresses to the commander-in-chief, for reinforcements. Martial law was instantly put in force; and by ten o'clock, the same morning, the troops were embarked, and under weigh, with supplies of provisions, ammunition, &c., sufficient for their use. Fortunately, two British men-of-war, the Excellent and Magnificent, of seventy-four guns each, commanded by the Honourable Commodore (now Admiral) Stopford, and Captain Giffard, anchored in Prince Rupert's bay, the same evening, to take in wood and water; and receiving immediate notice of what had happened, the Commodore disembarked the marines, of both ships, to cut off the communication of the mutineers with the country, and to confine them to the garrison, of which they had entire possession, with a supply of provisions and ammunition for many weeks. The mutineers fired repeatedly on the men-of-war, from Fort Shirley, and the outer Cabarite, but found that they had anchored out of reach of their gunnery; and their attempts to dislodge the marines and militia, which had joined them from Point Round, were equally unsuccessful.

A French man-of-war-schooner, from Guadaloupe, with despatches, happened to be at Roseau on the morning when the evil news arrived;

and her commander immediately offered to convey Governor Johnstone and his staff to Prince Rupert's. He was, accordingly, disembarked the same evening, at Point Round, where he was joined by Commodore Stopford and other officers. The Magnificent was under weigh, in an hour afterwards, to bring part of the Royals from the Saintes, where they were in garrison, only a few hours' sail from Prince Rupert's. The 68th regiment and militia arrived from Roseau the same evening.

The morning after the governor's arrival, he sent in an officer, and flag of truce, to the mutineers, to summon them to surrender; but they refused to admit him within the lines, or to treat on the terms proposed by the governor, who wished to save the lives of the three valuable officers whom they kept prisoners, and who were in momentary expectation of being put to death, amidst the contending opinions of the furious and savage mutineers, some of whom were desirous to save, and others to destroy them. The mutineers had made repeated attempts to dislodge the marines and militia from the swamp, which formed the isthmus between the garrison and town of Prince Rupert's, but were always repulsed. They also cannonaded the posts held by the troops in the neighbourhood, but their shot fell short. The return of the Magnificent, with two hundred men

of the Royals, under command of Major Paxley, now determined the governor to attempt to storm the fortress. The 68th regiment was 500 strong, and commanded by Majors Scott and Hamilton; the marines were 150; detachment of Royals 200; the St. George's militia, and other companies, about 400; in all 1300 men, whilst the mutineers did not exceed 450.

Major Hamilton (now a Major General in the service) volunteered to head the attack; and Captain Blakeney, and other officers, followed his example, in pressing to be entrusted with commands. The arrangements had been completed, and the assault was to be made the same night, when a flag of truce was perceived coming from the garrison. On its arrival, Lieutenant Alexander Cameron, of the 8th West India regiment, (who, a victim to the climate, died at Prince Rupert's, several years since, Captain of the 5th West India regiment,) proposed terms of surrender. Aware of their danger, the mutineers offered to throw themselves on the mercy of the governor, stipulating only that the lives of the whole regiment should be saved. This Governor Johnstone peremptorily refused; but he urged Lieutenant Cameron *to remain*, and not again to put himself in the power of the mutineers. The lieutenant's reply was heroic, as it was impressive. "Never will I consent to save my own life, at the certain ex-

pense of that of my brother officers, still in their power—I promised to return; and, whether life or death shall await me, I must go back."—The noble self-devotion of this brave officer, and the state in which he appeared amongst his fellow soldiers, inspired them with the determination to effect his release, if spared until the hour of assault, or to die in the attempt. He had come into the cantonments without *hat*, *coat*, or *shoes*, all having been stripped from him, by the daring and blood-thirsty men whom he had commanded only a few days before.

After some delay, it was unexpectedly agreed to, by the mutineers, that the regular troops should march into the garrison of Prince Rupert's, at five o'clock in the evening, and that the 8th West India regiment, drawn up on parade, and placing themselves at the mercy of the commander-in-chief in the West Indies, should lay down their arms, on receiving the word of command from the governor.

Accordingly, at four P. M. the regular troops were under arms, and, soon after, they began their march, with Governor Johnstone at their head, to enter the garrison. Several officers and privates of the militia, with all the civilians attached to the army, followed, unarmed, anxious to be spectators of the approaching scene. Having entered by the barrier gate, where the black sentinels pre-

sented arms as they passed, the troops marched on towards the parade; the detachment of Royal Artillery, under command of Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Brough, halting, with their guns a little to the left of the 8th West India regiment, which were already drawn up in line on the parade; the three officers (their prisoners) standing in front of their respective companies, to the command of which, it appeared, they had been restored. The Royals, 68th regiment, and marines, having taken up their ground in front of the mutineers, and within twenty yards of them, Governor Johnstone rode up to address them. Scarcely, however, had he expressed his regret and sorrow, that the corps, of which he was the colonel, and which had distinguished itself at the capture of the Danish settlements, should have so acted, when the angry feelings betrayed by the mutineers led him to wheel a little round; and, again fronting them, he, without losing further time, gave the word for them to order, and ground their arms. A few only obeyed this order; and one of their ringleaders, stepping out, called to them "not to lay down their arms, as Governor Johnstone would cheat them."—At this critical moment, the Royals, perceiving that resistance would be made, and scarcely waiting for orders, fired a volley, which was followed by another from the

68th regiment and marines, who, directed by Major Hamilton, immediately advanced at the point of the bayonet. The mutineers, after a straggling fire, gave way on all sides, scrambling up the side of the outer Cabarite; from the top of which, two or three hundred of them precipitated themselves into the sea, down a steep, which, until then, had been considered impracticable, and with very little loss of lives, a few only being destroyed by their fall. They left seventy or eighty killed and wounded on the parade, by the fire of the troops, who pursued them to the top, killing or capturing all whom they overtook. On the part of the troops, a few men only were killed, and two or three officers and a dozen men wounded. The three officers of the 8th West India regiment escaped unhurt.

Parties of the mutineers (the guards of the day, perhaps,) were still occupying Fort Shirley, and the batteries on the inner Cabarite; and from the latter, a discharge of grape-shot was now received, which, being aimed too high, did no mischief. Captain Brough immediately turned his guns on the party who were firing, and, by his first fire of grape, killed the greater part of them: the rest fled across the swamp, where some of them were taken, and others killed, by the militia, two were by this time under arms, though not in

time to intercept the main body of the mutineers, who had fled over the outer Cabarite, and got off into the country, mostly without arms.

A detachment immediately proceeded to take possession of Fort Shirley, where, on the magazines being opened and examined, a train was found to have been laid, for the purpose of blowing up the assailants.

The troops now received the thanks of the governor on parade—measures were taken for the pursuit of the fugitives—and the wounded, on both sides, left on the field of contest, were carefully removed to the hospital. The wounded officers were placed, by the governor's direction, in the barrack in Fort Shirley, appropriated for his own quarters; and it is but justice to this now *fallen star*, to mention, that he was to be seen, for several following days, administering to their wants with his own hands. The situation of the unfortunate officers of the 8th West India regiment, who had lost all their property, also received his early attention.

It was now discovered, that the 8th West India regiment were several months in arrears, and that this was *one* of the causes of the mutiny. The commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Trigge, ordered the mutineers, who were, at length, all accounted for, as killed, wounded, or prisoners, to be sent to Barbados, the then head-quarters. The ring-

leaders were tried by court-martial, and several of them executed; others, less implicated, or who had left the standard of rebellion, were, with their officers, drafted into other West India regiments; but the greater part were formed into *a corps of pioneers*, and attached, as labourers and servants, to the different regiments doing duty in the West Indies.*

* The officers who escaped on the night of the mutiny, and joined the troops next day, were, Major Gordon, Captain Cassan, and Ensign Greenshields: those taken prisoners were, Captain Barr, Lieutenants Alexander and Allan Cameron; and those who unhappily lost their lives, together with the artillery-men, and every other white person in the garrison, with the exception of Mr. Barron, of the ordnance department, and a few women, were, Captain Allan Cameron, Lieutenant and Adjutant Mackay, Lieutenant Wasteneys, and two others, names forgotten. The regiment had latterly received no pay; and although the major commanding, and paymaster, had made repeated applications on the subject to the governor, they had been made in vain. The governor had ordered numerous fatigue parties to be constantly employed in the swamp, and in cutting wood, to whom no additional pay or gratuity had been granted. The major escaped, through the fidelity of a man of Captain Cameron's company, who gave him notice, a few minutes before the work of death began. These officers determined to use their personal influence with the men. The major proceeded instantly to the barracks at the barrier; Captain Cameron went to those of his company, in Fort Shirley. Captain Cameron was so firmly persuaded of their attachment to him, that he entertained little doubt of detaching

Governor Johnstone was subsequently recalled; and, on his arrival in England, he preferred charges against Major Gordon, who was placed on half-pay, and never employed afterwards. He,

them from the mutiny, and of holding Fort Shirley, until relieved. His company, however, instantly made him a prisoner, but assured him of personal safety, and that they would sacrifice their own lives, to defend his. The work of death immediately began. The few artillery-men in the Fort were butchered in cold blood, by these savages; and, in other parts of the garrison, they proceeded to destroy every white person whom they could find, with the exception of the three officers, who were favourites, and saved by their own companies.—Captain Cameron's fate was tragical in the extreme. After escaping in the commencement, he was shot by a man whom he had ordered into confinement the day before, who had been now liberated, and was not aware of, or would not understand, the favourable intentions of his own company towards him.—The man was immediately put to death by his comrades. The major's endeavours to stop the mutiny were equally fruitless. With difficulty he escaped with his life, being pursued and fired at, and his horse wounded. Lieutenant Wasteneys, a fine youth of eighteen, on guard on the inner Cabarite, was savagely bayonetted. The death of Adjutant Mackay was still more tragical. The monsters, not satisfied with killing him, actually cut his body in pieces. He was one of the stoutest men in the army; of great talent, and undaunted resolution. He defended himself, until entirely overpowered by numbers.—Several officers and men of the ordnance, commissariat, and quarter-master-general's departments, experienced a similar fate; and the miserable women, who fell into the power of these wretches, suffered every species of indignity and degradation.

in his turn, brought charges against the governor, who was deprived of his rank and government.

When the garrison was a little restored to order, and the danger to the *state* no longer imminent, we formed ourselves into parties, and were allowed to make excursions to the country; but the arrival of transports, with the 4th West India regiment, and a detachment of artillery, soon relieved the 68th regiment, and the greater part of us, from farther duty at Prince Rupert's.

Amidst our warlike operations and harassing duty, one circumstance afforded great and universal satisfaction, viz. the fidelity of the slaves, who not only evinced their accustomed subordination and obedience to masters and managers, at the time the strong garrison of Prince Rupert's was in the hands of the mutineers, but took every opportunity of shewing their abhorrence of such proceedings, and their desire to assist in securing, and bringing them to punishment. Many instances of the warmest and most devoted attachment to their masters, by slaves, on this trying occasion, might be mentioned.

The governor issued a proclamation, congratulating the colony on the suppression of the mutiny, and praising the peaceable and good behaviour of the slaves. The thanks of the council and assembly were, at the same time, voted to the commanding-officers, and different corps, and

to the men-of-war, including the French ships, which had rendered such important service to the colony. Whatever portion of blame may have attached to Governor Johnstone respecting the *cause* of the mutiny, he, unquestionably, displayed, in the *suppression* of it, great talents and address.

GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE'S RECALL, AND ARRIVAL OF HIS SUCCESSORS, GENERALS MANNERS KERR, AND PREVOST.

THE Courts of Inquiry, held at Barbados, required the attendance of Governor Johnstone, who, both as colonel of the regiment, and commanding the troops in garrison at Dominica, was deeply interested in their proceedings; reports of which were promptly forwarded to his Royal Highness the commander-in-chief, by Sir Thomas Trigge.

During the time that they were sitting, much irritation and bitterness were displayed by the different parties concerned, each aiming at self-exculpation. So great, indeed, was the excitement, that Sir Thomas Trigge thought it necessary to order Major Gordon, and every officer doing duty with the corps at the time of the mutiny, to England, and to appoint another brigadier-general, to command the troops in Dominica. Sir Thomas himself sailed for England shortly after; and the command of the troops was assumed by Brigadier General Manners Kerr. The 68th regiment were,

at this time, also relieved by the 11th regiment, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel (now Sir Rufane) Donkin, the 68th proceeding to Barbados, and carrying with them the thanks and good wishes of the whole community. The regiment marched out upwards of 500 strong, notwithstanding the severe loss it had sustained from sickness on its first arrival.

On Governor Johnstone's return to Roseau, great sickness prevailed, and, it was apprehended, would continue throughout the hurricane months, now only commencing. Affairs between the governor and the colonists were extremely bad: the former had disarmed the St. George's militia, and all ranks and classes of society were exasperated against him. However, the next packet from England brought him letters of recall, and a notification of the appointment of General Prevost, who soon afterwards arrived, to succeed him in the government. Governor Johnstone embarked privately for Guadaloupe, and, soon afterwards, married a rich Creolian heiress, Madame Clugny Godet, daughter of the late Baron Clugny, Governor of Guadaloupe, and relict of M. Raymond Godet, of that island.

General Prevost was received with the most cordial welcome; a large colonial salary was voted; and nothing was omitted, that could show the good will of the community towards him.

The colony was once more restored to internal peace and tranquillity, and the sickness had diminished. Yet, even at this early period, the polical horizon was overshadowed, portending a renewal of war.—One of the first steps taken by Governor Prevost, was to restore arms to the St. George's regiment of militia, and to renew that corps, and all the out-companies, giving particular orders for their being regularly trained, and kept fit for service. Nor was he less attentive to the efficiency, health, and comfort of the regular troops, in the command of which he succeeded General Manners Kerr, who had returned to St. Vincent's.

Soon afterwards, the commander-in-chief of the army in the Leeward Islands, the late General Grinfield, arrived from Barbados, on a tour of inspection through the islands, accompanied by Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, in the Centaur, of seventy-four guns.* It was on this occasion, that Sir Samuel Hood and Sir George Prevost first met, and formed an intimacy and friendship, cemented by acting together on service, immediately afterwards.

* Captain Littlehales then commanded the Centaur. He afterwards carried to England the accounts of the capture of St. Lucia. The first lieutenant was the present Captain Maurice, who afterwards defended the Diamond Rock, against the combined fleets, and, more recently, the Island of Anhalt, against the Danes. The second lieutenant had been

The beginning of the year 1803 was ushered in, as usual, by the proclamation of martial law;

left sick at Barbados. The third was the present Captain Sibley, who distinguished himself often, under Commodore Hood, and afterwards, as a commander, in the Swallow, brig, in the Mediterranean. His last command was that of the Niemen frigate, on the North American station. Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, Reynolds, was the fourth lieutenant. He cut out the Curieux, French brig-of-war, from under the batteries of Fort Royal, and was promoted to be a commander, and appointed to command his *dearly* earned prize. He was dangerously wounded in the head, and, in a few months, fell a victim to the West India climate. The fifth lieutenant was Mr. Dale, afterwards appointed to the command of a French man-of-war schooner, (the Morne Fortunée,) and sent to England with the officers, who were the bearers of despatches announcing the capture of St. Lucia. That vessel was then sent out to the West Indies, with the declaration of war against Spain; and Lieutenant Dale had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the Rochefort squadron. After delivering despatches at Barbados, and proceeding on his voyage to Jamaica, he was wrecked on a reef of rocks. His crew were saved, but he died of fever, brought on by his exertions, and chagrin at losing his vessel. Of the numerous midshipmen and mates, then on board the Centaur, Mr. Bettesworth, afterwards lieutenant and captain, assisted Captain Reynolds in the capture of the Curieux, and succeeded him in the command. He subsequently overtook the combined fleet on their way back to Europe, in the latitude pointed out to him by Lord Nelson, who despatched him to *ascertain their track*, and, if possible, *precede* their arrival. He succeeded in both those objects, and was made post, and appointed to the Tartar frigate, in the

and the St. George's militia, now in a respectable state of discipline, once more did duty in the town, and mounted guard during the holidays. About this time, further accounts, of the most distressing nature, were received from St. Domingo. General Le Clerc was dead, and the chief part of his army had perished, either by disease or the sword.—About this time, also, the governor received a passing visit from Jerome Buonaparte, who then commanded a French brig-of-war, and had been at Martinico for some weeks before. After saluting the British flag and batteries—the salute being returned from Fort Young—he landed, and went to government-house. On re-embarking in the evening, he was accompanied to the beach by Governor Prevost, and some of his staff; but no guard of honour was appointed to receive him, nor were any other marks of respect shewn, beyond what were due to a French naval captain. The inhabitants of Roseau had then an opportunity of seeing the brother of Napoleon, before either of them had attained to royal honors.

The 46th regiment was now in garrison at

North Sea, where he was killed, in action with the Danish batteries and gun-boats, when in pursuit of a large East Indiaman, which had taken shelter from his eager and determined pursuit.

Morne Bruce, having lately arrived, together with the 15th, 90th, and 96th regiments, to relieve the corps which had served longest in the West Indies. The 46th landed upwards of 600 strong, and were a fine body of men; but being just from Europe, and encountering a very sickly season soon after their arrival, they suffered severely during the first six months. So great was the mortality, that nothing but change of scene and situation appeared likely to stop its progress, and, at last, this was reluctantly complied with. War was every day expected to re-commence, and General Prevost was unwilling to remove the garrison from Morne Bruce. Colonel Campbell remained with the regiment until it was sent into cantonments in the country: he then sailed for England; and, pointing to the burial-ground, with almost tears in his eyes, he said, "*there* are laid 250 of my fine fellows; had they fallen in the field, I would have cheerfully parted with them; but to lose them here in this —— country, and to see them perish, like ——, is more than I can bear; it will break my heart!" At that time, he held in his hand the daily return of the dead, which averaged 15, for some preceding weeks, and amongst them, he remarked, were the names of some of the very best men in the regiment: eight of the officers had perished. So reluctant were the poor fellows to go to the hospital, that they were con-

stantly drooping from the effects of fever, whilst mounting guard.*

* Captain James, who succeeded Colonel Campbell in the command, had the happiness of seeing the regiment restored to health, by change of quarters, and afterwards of leading it into action, and commanding it, until superseded by the arrival of Major, now Colonel, Payne, when he was promoted into the 37th, which he quitted as Lieutenant Colonel, from bad health. He died lately in London, having served his king and country thirty years, in every quarter of the world.

WAR, HURRICANE, AND EARTHQUAKE.

INTELLIGENCE of a declaration of war against France, some time expected, was now received by a fast-sailing vessel from Plymouth, which brought orders to the commanders of the naval and military forces in the West Indies, immediately to attack such of the enemy's colonies as the force under their command enabled them, with probability of success. The state of the British garrisons was efficient and respectable, despite of the ravages of the climate; and an immediately disposeable force was, without delay, embarked on board the men-of-war and transports, which Commodore Hood had kept in readiness. He had then only the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, a few frigates and sloops-of-war, in command; but the French had no naval force sufficient to contend with his little squadron; and the garrisons of St. Lucia and Tobago were known to have been considerably reduced by sickness. General Grinfield and the commodore determined, therefore, to make an immediate attack on those islands; and General Prevost, having assisted in the capture of

St. Lucia, and afterwards commanded there, during the revolutionary war, gallantly offered his assistance. Accordingly, the Osprey, sloop-of-war, was despatched to convey him from Dominica to St Lucia, where he joined the expedition the day previous to the attack. So secretly had every arrangement been made, the French knew not of the war, until the arrival of the British armament; nor were the inhabitants of Roseau acquainted with General Prevost's departure, until he was already at St. Lucia.

The troops were formed into two divisions; and, the enemy refusing to surrender, the strong fort of Morne Fortunée, the key of the island, was stormed during the night, with some loss, by the British troops, under Brigadier-Generals Prevost and Brereton. In consequence of this success, the army was enabled to proceed immediately to the attack of Tobago, which also fell into our possession, after a slight and fruitless resistance.

The French had, at this time, strong garrisons, both in Martinico and Guadaloupe. The British force in the Leeward Islands did not admit, however, of any attempt being made on them, without reinforcements, both of troops and ships-of-war. In the interim, Commodore Hood's squadron was scouring the seas, and making prizes of numerous French vessels.

Governor Prevost was received at Roseau, on

his return, with the most distinguished marks of approbation and regard.

The capture of St. Lucia and Tobago was speedily followed by that of the valuable Dutch colony of Demerara; against which, Major-General Sir Charles Green, (who had succeeded to the command of the troops on the death of General Grinfield,) and Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, now a Knight of the Bath, had lost no time in proceeding. The possession of Demerara was of importance to Britain; and it was finally annexed to her dominion, by the terms of the general peace in 1814 and 15.

Although war now raged between the two rival nations, the greatest courtesy was maintained between General Prevost, and the French Governor of the neighbouring colony of Martinico, the brave but unfortunate Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, Lord Howe's opponent on the memorable 1st of June. The new Governor of Guadaloupe was General Erneuf, an enterprising and zealous officer, who was anxious to strike a blow against the English colonies, the first favourable opportunity. He had then 1800 men in garrison at Guadaloupe, and was aware of the reduced numbers of the 11th regiment, previously to their departure, and of the sickness and mortality which had prevailed in the 46th, since their arrival at Dominica. He knew, also, that the garrison at Prince Rupert's consist-

ed only of black troops. Every neutral vessel arriving from Guadaloupe brought accounts of preparations, which led General Prevost to believe that an attempt would speedily be made on Dominica; against which he made every preparation in his power, requesting a reinforcement of European troops, putting those under his command constantly on the alert, and reviewing and inspecting the different companies of militia. The only disposeable force, however, at Barbados, was the York light-infantry volunteers, a regiment formed of volunteers from the Dutch service, after the surrender of Demerara, who preferred entering the British service to being sent to England as prisoners. One hundred and fifty men of this corps were sent down, under command of a Dutch officer, and quartered at Prince Rupert's; and, at the same time, a line of signal posts was established round the whole island, and telegraphic communications were henceforth made with the greatest celerity.

The numerous prizes which continued to be made by our cruisers, and sent to Roseau for condemnation, by the Admiralty Court, formed a source of advantage to the merchants, through the sales and agency; whilst the occasional visits of the ships-of-war, to receive their men and prize-money, were gratifying and enlivening to the inhabitants. Indeed, at no time did gaiety more

predominate, than for some months after the war commenced.

During the months of June and July, great sickness prevailed in the town and on board of the ships, one vessel having had her crew twice replaced, before her departure for England. As the hurricane months approached, the continuance of this sickness was to be apprehended; and a foreboding existed, that a gale of wind, or hurricane—an occurrence from which the island had not suffered for several seasons—might increase the distress, by sweeping away houses and property of every description. Nor did the fear prove visionary; for, on the 11th of September, about seven o'clock in the evening, an unusual redness of the sky, after sunset, succeeded a remarkably hot and sultry day, indicating, too plainly, the approach of evil. The howling of the wind, in sudden blasts, and the lightning's vivid flash, soon proclaimed the commencement of the storm. Not a moment was to be lost. Some of the assembled crowd repaired on board the ships, to give the orders necessary for their preservation—some endeavoured to secure the valuable property, which was piled along the beach, and subject to be swept away by the sea—and others proceeded to secure the doors, windows, and fastenings of their houses. At ten o'clock, P. M., the wind blew violently, and almost direct on shore; and by

twelve, the tempest raged with dreadful fury. No one dared to go to bed—to look out was no longer practicable—every person was glad to shut himself in, and to seek shelter from the storm. Tremendous and awful was the roaring of the wind, the sea, and the thunder. The sky was one sheet of flame. Towards morning, the rain fell in torrents. Day, at last, came. Long had we anxiously wished its arrival; but when it dawned, although the storm was beginning to moderate, what a scene did it present! On opening the door and windows, the roofs of the negro-houses were seen completely stripped off—the trees, on every side, denuded of their branches and leaves, and many of them torn up by the roots—palings, on all sides, laid prostrate, or swept entirely away—many houses damaged; and masters, as well as slaves, suffering under personal injury, in their endeavours to save their lives and property.

Soon afterwards, making my way to Fort Young, and looking down upon the sea, the scene of ruin and destruction presented to my view was yet more dreadful. Many vessels had already perished with their crews, and were lying, wrecked and destroyed, with their cargoes strewed along the beach. Two or three small vessels had been able to get under weigh, and to work out of the road, before the gale became so violent. Most of those which had perished were American vessels,

a few other neutrals, and prize vessels, or droghers, belonging to the island. They had either parted from their anchors, and been driven ashore, or foundered, where they lay at anchor. When morning dawned, some of the larger vessels had still rode out the gale; but as the wind blew nearly *dead on shore*, and the sea was running mountains high, there scarcely existed a ray of hope that any of them would be able to withstand its fury.

The vessels loading for Europe at this time consisted of the Nisus and Fanny, large West-Indiamen, and two or three brigs, and a large prize-ship, under charge of Lieutenant Young, of the Serapis man-of-war.* The ships and vessels loading for England were all lying with their sails unbent, and yards and topmasts struck, and de-

* From day-light, Lieutenant Young (who, being in bad health, had slept ashore,) had been endeavouring to prevail on the boatmen to take him off to his ship; but the negroes for a long time refused, considering it impossible that any boat or canoe could live in such a sea and surf as were then rolling in. At last, however, he prevailed on them to make the attempt; and watching a favourable moment, when the receding waves afforded a chance of success, two stout negroes launched their canoe, into which Lieutenant Young fearlessly sprang, and was conveyed safely on board, amidst the cheers of the numerous spectators. Shortly afterwards, we saw the sails cast loose, the topsails close reefed and set, the cable cut, and the ship under weigh. The canoe returned in safety to the shore; and the prize, after great exertion, gained an offing.

pending entirely on their cables and anchors for preservation. The inhabitants were now repairing in crowds to the beach, although scarcely able to keep their feet, from the fury of the wind, and in constant danger of their lives and limbs, from the quantities of shingles and loose timber carried in all directions into the air. Amidst this war of elements, so great was their anxiety to save the lives of the poor sailors, whose vessels still held out, that few of the male population of Roseau remained in their houses. The dead bodies of those who had perished began, one after another, to be cast ashore; and they were carried away by the negroes and afterwards interred.

The remaining vessels, now few in number, parted successively from their anchors, and were driven on shore. Most of the crews were, however, saved by the unremitting exertions of the inhabitants, who rushed into the sea, with ropes made fast around their bodies, and were hauled back, together with those whom they went to save, by the people on the beach.

The unfortunate ship Nisus was the last, and most valuable, vessel wrecked on this dreadful day. She had stood out the gale, and hopes were entertained that her cables would still endure. At 2, P.M., however, she was perceived to have parted from her anchors, and to be fast driving ashore. In a few minutes, she was in the surf.

immediately under Fort Young; and the only possible means of saving the crew appeared to be by cutting away the masts, and causing them to fall towards the shore, so as to form a gang-way for the men to get out of the ship, before she should break up, and go to pieces. This plan was adopted; but, through the unguarded precipitancy of the crew, three of them unfortunately perished.

In the evening, the rain again fell in torrents; but the storm had then ceased; and, next morning, we had the satisfaction of seeing the few vessels which had got under weigh, and been able to clear the land, return in safety. Fifteen, however, out of twenty-one, at anchor when the gale commenced, lay wrecked on the beach; and only *one*—the Fanny, West-Indiaman—had rode it out in the roadstead. Besides the loss of lives, of shipping, and of produce embarked, the value of property destroyed, and washed away, was of course considerable. The barracks on Morne Bruce and at Prince Rupert's suffered materially; and several soldiers were injured by the fall of the buildings.

This gale of wind, or *tail of a hurricane* as it was called, did great damage also at most of the neighbouring islands. St. Lucia, Martinico, Guadaloupe, Antigua, Tortola, and the Danish islands to leeward, all suffered severely. This

calamity was followed, a few days afterwards, by the shock of an earthquake, felt all over the island of Dominica. It happened between 2 and 3 P.M., when most of the European inhabitants are generally half undressed, and stretched on beds or couches, enjoying their "siestas." They were, in a few moments, not only aroused from their slumbers, but to be seen in the streets or porticoes. The French inhabitants were, like good catholics, prostrate on their knees; and, when the shock was over, the motley groups, dressed, half-dressed, and some nearly *undressed*, first excited a smile, and afterwards a hearty laugh. This was the second or third time I had experienced the shock of an earthquake in the West Indies, yet I partook of the generally experienced sensation of terror and distress. Shortly after these alarming visitations, the inhabitants were delighted to welcome the return of the sea and land breezes, which, during the wet or hurricane season, generally cease to blow with their accustomed regularity, but which are eminently conducive to the comfort and health of all ranks and classes of society in tropical countries.

Having suffered from intermittent fever, I waited only for the worst of the season to be over, to take a trip to sea, for change of air; and, having business to transact at Barbados, I availed myself of the opportunity of proceeding thither in

an armed government vessel, employed in conveying troops and stores.—We called at St. Lucia,* to land some men; and I found that the hurricane had been very destructive also in that island. The anchorage being more secure than with us, fewer vessels had been wrecked; but the town of Castries had suffered, and the barracks on Morne Fortunée were almost destroyed. Our stay here was only for a few hours, to take General Brereton's despatches to head-quarters, and we arrived at Barbados two days afterwards. There we found, that, comparatively, little damage had been sustained from the gale.

I was already better for the change of air and scene. Nothing could be more delightful to an invalid than the bright serene atmosphere of the latter months of the year in this island; whose supply of fruits, vegetables, and all sorts of provisions, was astonishing. I was informed, that, at the time of Sir Ralph Abercromby's arrival with his army, and the fleet under Sir H. Christian, in all not less than 30,000 men, three months' consumption made little or no perceptible diminution

* The town of Castries is dirty and disagreeable; the road to the garrison steep and bad. The island is fertile, but much of it uncleared. The bay is capable of receiving large fleets, which have often resorted to it in time of war. St. Lucia is reckoned very unhealthful.

in quantity, or advance in price, in the markets; every article being as plentiful on the last as on the first market-day. Yet this island contains only 105,000 acres, with a population of nearly 100,000 souls, and a soil now unproductive in comparison with that of some of the neighbouring islands, where, notwithstanding, provisions, and every necessary of life, are scarce and dear. In Barbados, however, there are several small occupiers and proprietors of ground, who cultivate every spot, and thus derive subsistence from supplying the markets.

DOMINICA.—VISIT TO THE LAKE, &c.

At Barbados, the oldest of our colonies in the West Indies, I omitted no opportunity of visiting what was worthy of notice. Though the slaves; seen in Bridgetown, hired out as labourers, boatmen, hucksters, &c. had not the same robust look as those at Roseau, yet, on visiting several fine estates, I observed that the negroes seemed, in general, healthy, happy, and contented.

The hospitality of the Barbadian planters, merchants, and public officers, is proverbial. At this period, the expedition having lately returned from Demerara, there was a constant succession of dinners and balls, at which most of the naval and military officers were present.—The woods are good, although scanty; and many of the merchants and principal people had beautiful country residences, to which they rode, or drove, as suited their fancy, having excellent studs, and carriages of all descriptions. The latter were a luxury, which, in Dominica, or St. Lucia, even the richest

could not indulge in, from the nature of the country, and the want of carriage-roads; an inconvenience which is also felt at Martinico. Barbados, however, is flat; and, but for the cocoa and tamarind trees, might be thought to resemble some parts of England. There are no venomous serpents in this island: the centipede and scorpion are the most noxious of the *creeping* enemies; but, in St. Lucia, Martinico, &c. the capra capella, and other snakes, are very formidable. Their bites are fatal sometimes within an hour. These hidden enemies are always most to be feared in uncleared parts of the country, but are by no means unfrequent visitors in towns and plantations; consequently, it is a necessary precaution, to examine the bed-rooms before retiring to rest.

The packet having arrived from England, news was anxiously inquired for, Buonaparte being at that time encamped with a numerous army, (which subsequently dictated terms of peace at the gates of Vienna,) along the French coast; and he was supposed to be quite in earnest in his intention of invading Britain. All England was in arms, and anxious for an opportunity of measuring swords with Frenchmen, in defence of their country. How little was it then imagined, that it would be on the plains of Portugal and Spain, where the British and French armies would first meet; and that in the heart of France, within the walls of

Paris itself, the victorious flag of Britain would be displayed!

The attempt at invasion, however, was not made; and the very people in the West Indies, who were then so anxious for the fate of the mother-country, had too soon abundant cause to look to their own. At Barbados, and throughout the colonies, only one feeling was displayed—that of affection and anxiety for England, and the wish to be able to render assistance.—Amidst the vicissitudes of warfare, in the West Indies, at former periods, Barbados had always remained unconquered. Other islands had occasionally been subjected to French invasion and domination; but the Barbadians exulted in the recollection, that they had owned none but Britain's sway. The head-quarters of the British forces, serving in the colonies, were now at Barbados, and there was also a numerous and well-disciplined militia.

Having spent a month very pleasantly in this island, I returned to Dominica, in the Prince Adolphus Packet, under convoy of the Hippomenes, sloop-of-war, then commanded by the late gallant Captain Conway Shipley. We arrived at Roseau in two days; and I had the pleasure of finding that the island of Dominica had become healthful since the hurricane. Gloom and despondency were yielding to more cheerful feelings. I arrived just in time to be present at a ball, given

by the Governor to Commodore Hood, who had come down in the Centaur, from his cruizing station off the Diamond-rock, Martinico. He had not visited Dominica, since the capture of Demerara; and, in addition to the usual salute from Fort Young, the grenadier company of the 46th regiment received him as a guard of honour, on landing. For this mark of Governor Prevost's respect and esteem, the worthy commodore appeared quite unprepared, as well as for the demonstrations of applause bestowed on him by the assembled multitude. After keeping up the merry dance until an early hour in the morning, we looked for the Centaur, but looked in vain; for she had by that time probably regained her station. Captain, now Sir Murray Maxwell, promoted from the Cyane sloop, then commanded her. At this time, the commodore had taken possession of the Diamond-rock, which is detached from the shore of Martinico, rather more than a long gun-shot, and which rises to the height of several hundred feet. Sir Samuel anchored his squadron close to the rock, (there being deep water and good anchorage,) and had, by incredible labour and perseverance, mounted six of the thirty-two pounders of the Centaur, some of them on its summit, besides placing other guns and mortars on different batteries, along the ridges.—The rock was thus converted, as it were, into a sloop-of-war guard-

ship, or more properly a fortress; but it was garrisoned by seamen; and Lieutenant Maurice, first of the Centaur, was promoted to be a commander, and appointed to its charge. This truly wonderful work of British tars was viewed with admiration by all who had an opportunity of surveying what had been done, and by none more than the French, when they obtained possession of it, after a gallant defence by its commander and crew, who, from want of water and ammunition, were under the necessity of surrendering to the combined fleets. Here, at this period, however, the British colours were displayed every morning, in the very teeth of the enemy. The rock formed the general rallying point of the squadron, part of which was employed in blockading Martinico, in the hope that the arrival of a British armament would render its reduction, at no distant period, more easy and certain. Just then, however, the threatening attitude of the enemy, and the preparations made for the invasion of England, left the British ministry neither time for planning, nor opportunity for undertaking, expeditions against the French colonies.

Of late, the taste for parties of pleasure into the country, and for visiting the Lake, had been resumed. This was, perhaps, in some measure owing to the judicious example set by the Governor and Mrs. Prevost, to divert the minds of those

who had suffered from sickness, loss of friends or property. Several parties had been made from Government House, to visit the Lake; and, under the direction of Brigade Major Grant, canoes had been transported, and rowing matches had taken place on this fine expanse of water, so high amongst the mountains, and so far above the level of the sea. I was, one morning, persuaded to make holiday, on one of these excursions. One of my young friends and I, following some others, galloped out of Roseau, and proceeded without halt, over roads which, we supposed, were passable only in the day; but which the Governor and his staff afterwards travelled in the dark, when retreating to Prince Rupert's. The different turnings and windings of the road, along the ravines, were, however, very beautiful; and Roseau river winding below us, added not a little to the beauty of the scene. On abruptly turning an angle of the road, we came to a newly settled coffee plantation, whose proprietor had kindly engaged the whole party to return and dine with him; and, seated in the portico of this good little bachelor's house, we saw most of our ladies, who had probably visited the Lake before, or found themselves unable to proceed farther. They were employed in preparing salads, or sangaree, for their thirsty *beaux*, as they arrived or returned. We readily accepted of "quelque chose à boire," as

the phrase is in the West Indies; and, having fruitlessly endeavoured to persuade some of our fair friends to accompany us, we were obliged to leave them with our host. We accordingly remounted our steeds, and proceeded onwards, and upwards, on our weary way; for the road had now become difficult and tedious, and we were often obliged to dismount, and lead our jaded horses over what was only a footpath. At length, we reached the spot where the Lake opened to our view; and, certainly, the fine sheet of water spread out before us was an object of wonder and of admiration. Unfortunately, the canoes were at the other end of the Lake, and we had, at that time, no opportunity of gratifying our curiosity, by embarking on its unruffled bosom, and surveying all its beauty. However, giving our horses to the servants, we pedestrianized on its sweetly winding shores; a task which proved difficult and tedious, the banks were so thickly embosomed in shrubs and underwood. The Lake winds, for a considerable distance, round the ridges of the mountain, which encircles and protects it. At times, the sudden gusts of wind are dangerous, and sweep along its waters with resistless fury.

Understanding that the rest of the party had proceeded towards Rosalie, for the purpose of viewing the grand and picturesque scenery from the face of the mountain, which there becomes a

frightful precipice, we followed their route, and met them returning from the enjoyment of a truly magnificent sight. Being all dismounted, they led us to the proper point of view.—We then stood on the verge of a precipice, several hundred feet deep, the road not more than four or five feet broad; and below us was displayed the finest tract of land imaginable, with coffee plantations spread out, like the segment of a panorama, at our feet. On the other side was the sea, but at a considerable distance; and the fine property of Rosalie bounded the prospect to the right. Had we pursued our route across the island, Rosalie would have been our next halting-place.

It was with reluctance that we left the enchanting spot, to return to dinner. The party was a large one; and, after the dining-room and table had been filled, many of the guests established themselves very comfortably in the portico. Amidst the smiles of the ladies, and a few glasses of Madeira, we soon forgot our toil, and scarcely thought of the distance from Roseau, and the near approach of sunset. At length, we prepared for our departure; and, there being Highlanders of the party, the old custom of "the stirrup cup" was not overlooked. We took leave of our hospitable entertainers, with *cheers*, and set off, perhaps, rather more merry than wise. The nature of the road obliged us to proceed in divisions; and it so

happened, that I was in the advanced guard, with my old militia colonel, who, happy and in high spirits, insisted on proceeding at quick time. He rode a very spirited horse; and, putting spurs to him, darted off at full speed. We soon perceived the danger of our leader, and beheld, with consternation, his attempt to make his horse leap a five-barred gate. The horse, though high-mettled, was no hunter: he tripped, and came to the ground, throwing his rider fairly over the gate, and, fortunately, into a cane-field! Not the worse for his fall, he insisted on re-mounting; and, in despite of our remonstrances, once more galloped off. On reaching Roseau, however, we had the satisfaction to learn that he had arrived safe, having merely *cooled his face*, in crossing the river. He had lost his seat in the stream, but instantly gained it, his horse being probably too much distressed to make his escape. Next day, the worthy colonel remembered nothing of the five-barred gate, nor of crossing the river.

I had an opportunity, soon afterwards, of making another pleasant excursion into the interior of the island. We left Roseau early in the morning, on horseback; and, after a long and hot ride, we reached a plantation, where we put up for the night, and next day proceeded to explore the site of a run-away encampment, of difficult access. Having reached the beautifully sequestered spot,

which had formerly been the favourite resort of the run-aways, but which now presented to our sight only a single hut, we sought for shelter and shade in the beautiful *maroon house,* fitted up as a place of retirement, or of amusement and pleasure, for the captain's family and friends, when they wished to enjoy a day's fishing or shooting, there being a fine stream of water running along the foot of the precipice, and plenty of ramies at a short distance in the woods. After resting and refreshing ourselves, we had an excellent day's sport.

Our host had formerly been an officer of one of the West India regiments. He was a Creole, as well as a proprietor in the colony; and he gave us the following account of one of his adventures, when employed in pursuit of the run-aways, some years before.

Having been sent with a detachment to hunt out those marauders, and destroy their camps, he had stationed his party on a neighbouring estate, until he should find an opportunity of surprising them in their camp. The run-aways, however, aware of his station, and desirous of driving the military off their ground, were in the habit of attacking his sentries, almost every night. They found themselves assailed by an unseen enemy, against whom they could make no effectual resistance. Anxious to terminate the evil, he se-

lected a party of his men, and entered the nearest woods, at nine o'clock at night; guiding himself by the natural formation of the country, which consisted of parallel ridges, divided by deep ravines and mountain streams. The men were provided with cutlasses, to cut their way through the underwood; without which, it would have been impossible to penetrate. In their slow progress, they discovered nothing until sunrise, when traces were seen of people having lately passed through the woods; and, the underwood being thinner, the men could move on with little noise. More evident indications appearing, that this place had been frequented, he directed one of the men to follow him, and crept to a little distance, in the hope of finding an opening. He had not gone five hundred paces, when, suddenly, he came to an open spot, where stood a man, with a musquet. The instant the man saw the party in quest of him, he presented his piece, which, however, missed fire, and he plunged into the woods, and was out of sight in a moment. The pursuers now came to the brink of a precipice, almost perpendicular, and of great depth; and at the bottom of the valley, was seen a crowd of huts, (where the *maróon house* now stands,) from which the inhabitants had sprung out on hearing the shrill cry of their sentry. Satisfied that this was the run-away encampment, the exploring party immediately retraced

their steps; but they had not marched half-way back, when they were attacked, flank and rear, by the enemy, who, being excellent marksmen, kept the woods in a blaze. Scarcely a man, however, was to be seen, all were so concealed by the luxuriant foliage. The leader directed the soldiers to keep themselves as much as possible under cover, and to retreat from tree to tree, firing at the spot whence they perceived the fire of the enemy, who followed with great perseverance, to proceed. In this manner they retired, until they got clear of the woods; but their retreat was considerably impeded by the difficulty of assisting the wounded; several men of the detachment, as well as their commander, having been hit by this invisible enemy.

As soon as this active officer had refreshed his party at the nearest plantation, and got their wounds dressed, he set out again, with his whole corps, reinforced by such of the militia as could be hastily assembled, to attack the run-away camp; but, on emerging from the woods, and overlooking the ravine, it was discovered to have been completely abandoned, seemingly only a few hours before his arrival. However, pursuing the fugitives with unabated alacrity, they were driven to a considerable distance, and, finally, compelled to surrender at discretion.

The officer thus engaged, having been placed

on half-pay by the reduction of his corps, after the peace of Amiens, had received a grant of this tract of land, which he had now converted into a fine coffee plantation, and been appointed captain in the militia, a justice of peace, and a member of the assembly.

We returned to Roseau, much gratified with our visit. It was now doubted whether there were any run-aways existing in the colony. A few families of Caribs, or free Indians, however, inhabit the mountains, and occasionally visit Roseau, to sell their bows and arrows, and other curiosities. They are very quiet and inoffensive, live entirely by themselves, and have never, at any time, given any disturbance to the planters, as those in St. Vincent's and Jamaica have. These people are short in stature, yellow in complexion, with long hair and dark eyes. They have flat foreheads, and small hands and feet; shew no curiosity, or anger; seem little sensible of either joy or sorrow; are peaceable and harmless, silent and indolent; and mix neither with negroes nor people of colour.

DOMINICA IN 1804.

At Christmas, the St. George's regiment of militia took the town's duty. It had made considerable advances in discipline, notwithstanding the loss of some of its best officers and men. Lieutenant Colonel Wallace, long the main-spring of the corps, had lately died; but his successor was equally fond of shewing off the regiment, and was unremitting in his endeavours to keep it effective. The holidays passed over very quietly. The Governor inspected the St. George's, and all the other companies; and, to accustom them to act with the regular troops, the whole garrison of Morne Bruce was reviewed with them.

The imposing attitude of General Erneuf, the Governor of Guadaloupe, rendered the utmost vigilance necessary. Several vessels from France had arrived, with reinforcements of troops and supplies of warlike stores; and provisions in abundance had been received. Aware of Erneuf's desire to pay him an *unfriendly visit*, General Pre-

vost was constantly on the alert. The arrival of the fleets from Portsmouth and Cork afforded two opportunities of calling out the regulars and militia on the shortest notice. Each of these fleets happened to be descried during the night, coming down between the islands; and, on both occasions, the troops were promptly under arms. As every successive arrival of neutrals, from Guadaloupe, brought accounts of General Erneuf's active preparations, it was not doubted that the French had actually landed, when the second alarm, coming so soon after the first, again called forth the military at the dark hour of midnight. At sunrise, however, the sight of the richly laden fleets of Britain, proceeding under convoy to their respective islands and ports of discharge, afforded a glad relief. The enemy came not yet, but appeared, ere long, when less expected.

In the ships for Dominica, which arrived in these fleets, came many passengers, and reinforcements of men and officers for the 46th regiment, again in garrison on Morne Bruce. It was greatly reduced in number, by the ravages of disease; but the *esprit de corps* remained in full vigour.

The earlier months of this year passed away tranquilly and pleasantly; but the approach of the rainy months reminded us of last year's sufferings, and induced gloomy anticipations of the future. Nor were our apprehensions without cause; for,

in September, we were again visited by a gale of wind, which destroyed the chief part of the shipping, consisting mostly of American and other neutral vessels. The destruction of other property was also considerable, and several lives were lost from the vessels driven ashore.

The neighbouring colony of Guadaloupe suffered severely from this gale: other islands felt it, but in a less degree: Dominica and Guadaloupe, lying in the vortex between Martinico and Antigua, seemed devoted to its fiercest rage.

During the two preceding months, the town of Roseau had been more than ordinarily sickly; many persons, long resident in the West Indies, had been carried off; and few of those newly arrived, whether residing in town or country, had escaped an attack. On the estates, the mortality had been so great, that several of them were left without any white person to manage them, until the places of those who had died were filled from other colonies, or by new arrivals from Europe.

The garrison at Prince Rupert's had suffered severely, especially the officers of the 1st West India regiment, and a detachment of the York light-infantry. I was sent to that garrison on public duty, and, on my arrival, I found only the commanding officer, the officer of artillery, and one officer of the York, able to mount guard, which the two latter did in turn. The garrison consisted

of seven hundred men, nominally, but many of them were in the hospital. Of thirty officers, three only were in health, and four or five convalescent, six dangerously ill, many had died, and the rest had been allowed to go to Barbados, or return to Europe, for the recovery of their health. The detachment of the York light-infantry, which had landed one hundred and fifty strong, a few months before, had now only eighty men remaining, and scarcely a sufficient number fit for duty to mount a serjeant's guard, at their own barracks.*

* The fate of one of the officers of the York was very melancholy, shewing to what an extent the spirits may be depressed under such circumstances. This young gentleman, of an ancient and noble Dutch family, and particularly handsome and accomplished, had obtained leave of absence to Roseau, for change of air. He had been attacked by fever, but had got easily over it. The want of officers, however, compelled the commanding officer too soon to apply for his return. On receiving this order, he affirmed that he should not survive a fortnight at Prince Rupert's. General Prevost, with whom he was a favourite, hearing of his depression of mind, sent him an invitation to spend some days at Government House, before rejoining his corps; but nothing could arouse or divert his attention from the presentiment of his fate. Before leaving Roseau, he solemnly bade adieu to his friends, convinced that he had only a few days to live, and that he should never see them again. Under these impressions, he returned to Prince Rupert's, in company with a medical officer, two young officers of the 46th regiment, and myself. During our continuance together in the garrison boat, from sunrise to sunset, this unfortu-

Nor were the black troops without some share of the prevailing disease. While fever, acute and intermittent, was carrying off numbers of officers and men of the York, dysentery prevailed amongst the men of the 1st West India regiment. The latter, however, was checked by the skilful and anxious exertions of Dr. Hartle, now deputy inspector of hospitals. His duties were, at this time, very laborious; as, in addition to the care of his own regiment, he had that of the whole garrison, every other medical officer having fallen sick, almost as soon as ordered hither.

Though the state of the garrison of Prince Rupert's was most distressing, the safety of the colony obliged General Prevost to keep it entire,

nate young man, though studiously polite, and able to converse in English, scarcely uttered a word. He would partake of no refreshment: he read with earnest and undivided attention, in a book of prayer; his mind appeared centered on another world, unconscious of what was passing around him in this. He had no sooner landed, than he sent for the serjeant of his company, a carpenter; directed him to make a coffin, and bring it to his quarters. He then settled his affairs, ordering his watch and other valuable tokens of affection, received from his friends in Holland, to be carefully transmitted to them. He was anxiously attended by the medical officers; but, though his fever was not of that acute nature, as to carry him off rapidly, he died at the end of ten days; the doctors declaring that he had so little disease, that, but for the state of his mind, he would certainly have recovered.

and not to remove the York detachment, as recommended, to plantations, for change of air and scene: all that he could do, was to order officers from the garrison of Morne Bruce to replace and relieve those who were dead or sick; a service which, those of the 46th, now old West Indians, and healthy, performed like perfect soldiers, and happily returned to face the enemy, the following year, on more brilliant service.

My services being no longer required at Prince Rupert's, and a man-of-war tender, commanded by Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, de Courcy, (son of Lord Kinsale,) proceeding to Roseau, I embarked with him for a sea-passage. He weighed anchor at sun-set, after dining with the few officers who were able to assemble around the mess-table. The evening was calm and serene, and the setting of the sun extremely* beautiful and grand. This is particularly the case during the rainy season in the West Indies. In the morning, the horizon had been encircled by a range of clouds, the ridgy mass of which had gradually increased in magnitude until noon,

* Who does not love Nature, and all her works? The smiles of mankind pass away; their hearts grow cold towards us; and, if unfortunate, may neglect us; but Nature is ever the same. If storms for a while deface her fields, or ruffle the face of the ocean, she soon, like a tender mother, showers upon us her sweets and flowers.

when they portended a storm of thunder. This, however, passed away. New masses started up from the place where the sun would set, to prepare for the reception of the mighty lord of day, when retiring beneath the waters. After sinking behind these clouds, he remained a short time completely shrouded; but, bursting from a newly-opened chasm, he was again seen issuing from behind their now-illuminated masses, in magnificent splendour. Every cloud-flake now dissolved before him; and his orb, dilated into vaster magnitude, pouring out floods of glorious light, sublimely curtained with clouds of dazzling tints, threw a parting smile on the ocean, whose mirrored bosom placidly received the radiant gift, and reflected the celestial scene with tempered mellowness. At last, he sank below the horizon: darkness almost instantaneously involved both sky and sea, until the moon assumed her place in heaven, to guide the benighted traveller on his road, and the sailor on his voyage to far distant lands.

Our passage was but short, yet the moon proved a pleasing companion. On board ship, moonlight is delightful at all times; especially during a calm, when the stillness and repose which prevail amount to solemnity. The ocean below her appeared like another and a deeper sky, from whose dark edges crowds of stars were seen

emerging, and hastening up the firmament, to add their lustre to the glorious luminary presiding there. The ship floated without noise, and her wide-extended sails clung idly to the mast, waving to and fro, like the robes of some gigantic spectre. The seamen lay stretched at their length, some half asleep; the officers walked the deck; and the helmsman rested carelessly at the wheel, sometimes invoking the wind, with low and impatient whistling.

A tropical sun-set is an object of deep and beautiful interest; but its mixture of radiant fierceness and gloom has been compared by some to the deadliness of the climate, and the colour of the inhabitants; and, on the present occasion, my thoughts were in unison with that idea. Where, said I, can finer sun-sets be contemplated than in Britain? where such beautiful horizons—such rich and varied colouring, evenings so happily suited for meditation? A British sun-set excites no regretful ideas; its placid and silvery beauty is heightened by that of the scenery which it embellishes; whilst the softness of succeeding twilight is characteristic of the undisturbed peace and domestic happiness, that have their dwelling-place in a land upon which the shadows of night always steal softly and unobtrusively. Whilst enjoying the moonlight scene on the stilly waters around me, my thoughts wandered to happy

England. I reflected on the state of sickness which prevailed in the garrison of Prince Rupert's, still in view; on that in which I might find the town of Roseau, to which I was returning; and I thought of the peaceful days and early joys of youth—of the days and hours passed with the friends and companions once, and still, dear to my heart—and of the time when they might again return!

On arriving at Roseau, the intelligence conveyed to me was of the most melancholy and afflicting nature. Every officer of the Governor's staff was ill. Major Grant had been sent to America, to save, if possible, his valuable life; Lieutenant Prevost, the Governor's aid-de-camp and nephew, had been sent to Barbados, for recovery; and the secretary, commissary, and fort-adjutant, were all ill. In town, many had fallen sacrifices; and, amongst the number, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, whose many amiable qualities had justly endeared her to her family.

"I felt the chill—I turned aside;
Black desolation's cloud came o'er me;
And being seemed a troubled tide,
Whose wrecks in darkness swam before me."

THE FRENCH AT DOMINICA—ROSEAU BURNED.

DEATH, and sickness, and loss of property, had involved the European inhabitants of Dominica in despondency and gloom, from which they were only beginning to emerge, when, early in the following year, (1805,) they were assailed by a new and unexpected enemy.—Having been ill, and obliged to visit the interior for change of air and scene, during the Christmas holidays, I had returned to Roseau, only just in time to witness the arrival of a hostile squadron. The commencement of the new year had found us in a state of profound peace. There was no French force, either at Martinico or Guadaloupe, sufficiently powerful to attack the neighbouring English islands; and it was believed, that the threats of invasion, kept up by Buonaparte in Europe, would continue to employ both his fleets and armies for some time to come. At this period, scarcely an enemy's vessel was to be seen in the West Indies, except occasionally a privateer slipping out of Guadaloupe,

and committing depredations on our trade. Thus circumstanced, on the 22d of February, about an hour before day-light, the inhabitants of Roseau and the garrison of Morne Bruce were called from their beds, by an alarm fired from Scot's Head, and repeated from Fort Young. Immediately, the troops were under arms: they flew to their alarm posts; and there, in ten minutes afterwards, the Governor found them assembled—the light infantry companies of the 46th and 1st West India on the esplanade, at Fort Young—the 46th regiment on Morne Bruce—and the St. George's militia in the Church Savannah. After inspecting the troops, and ordering ammunition to the militia, the Governor proceeded to Fort Young, dismounted from his horse, and anxiously awaited the dawn. With his night-glass, he made out, that the ships seen dimly in the offing were large in size, and at no great distance.—Fort Young was at this instant crowded with people, many of them naval, masters of vessels, and others. By these, the ships were soon affirmed to be an enemy's squadron. Having been exempted from militia duty, I offered my services as a supernumerary aid-de-camp, and was despatched with orders for the light-infantry of the St. George's regiment, under Captain Laing, to take post at the river side, and defend the ford until farther orders. Returning to Fort Young, I found the ships fully in view,

and nearly within gunshot. There were five sail of the line, six heavy frigates, and several brigs and schooners. The fort hoisted the British colours, and the enemy's ships immediately *did the same*. The Governor, at that moment, received dispatches from Barbados, by a schooner, which had arrived during the night. They, however, mentioned nothing of either a British or French force having been seen. Though the ships displayed English colours, our naval men were not to be deceived; for, except the harbour-master, who went off to pilot the admiral in to safe anchorage, and was made a prisoner, they declared them to be an enemy's squadron. To bring the matter to an issue, the Governor ordered a shot to be fired from Fort Young, across the admiral. No sooner was this done, than *down* came his English ensign, and *up* went the French flag; an example which was followed by every vessel of his squadron. At the same moment, numerous boats left the off-sides of the ships, (not previously seen from the shore, as the vessels were lying-to,) filled with troops. These made for Point Michel, to effect a landing between Scot's Head and the barrier gate.

The enemy's troops had been ready in the boats for some hours, as the intention was to effect a landing before dawn of day, and to surprise and

capture the Governor and garrison, in their beds. The early notice of their approach, however, conveyed from Scot's Head, made the French general defer his landing until day-light. This was fortunate for us, as the overwhelming force of the enemy would have rendered all opposition vain, had they got past the barrier before they were met by the British troops. On seeing the boats push off, not a moment was lost in despatching the light companies of the 46th, and 1st West India regiment, and grenadiers of the militia, all under command of Captain O'Connel, of the 1st West India regiment, who had orders from General Prevost, to take post at the barrier, after opposing the enemy's landing, as skirmishers, and to maintain it to the last. An aid-de-camp was also dispatched, to order down the main body of the 46th, from Morne Bruce, under the command of Major Nunn, of the 1st West India regiment, who commanded the garrison; the command of that fine corps being still held by Captain James. On receiving this order, Major Nunn briefly addressed the men:—"My lads, we are but a handful, but I see the Frenchmen are to give us a chance; and we will make a field-day of it!" He saw, as General Prevost had seen, the error the enemy were committing, in choosing their place of debarkation so far off, and in allowing the British to gain the post of Point Michel before them; a post

which one hundred men could defend against one thousand, until turned.*

Captain O'Connel proceeded at *more* than *double quick time*; but the French had pulled hard, and were in the act of forming and advancing, having been opposed bravely, but ineffectually, by Captain Serrant's company of militia, on their way to join the British troops. The contest now began in earnest; and Captain O'Connel, having taken up his position at the barrier gate, successfully resisted every attempt made by the enemy to force him from it. The French troops were covered during their landing, and protected afterwards, by their brigs and schooners of war, which kept up a heavy and galling fire on our troops, until the arrival of two six-pounders, drawn and worked by British seamen, and directed by the clergyman.† General Prevost, attended by some of his staff, reached Point Michel soon after Captain O'Connel had taken post there, and di-

* This point is formed by a mountain, lofty and precipitous, extending to the sea. A narrow road, washed by the sea, leads along its base; and on the shore are numerous rocks. Not more than two or three men could march abreast, for five hundred yards.

† Jack Audain, Fighting-Jack, as he was called in the West Indies. The author of "Six Months in the West Indies" has given some anecdotes of him. He was a character, certainly always ready for the field of battle, but no ornament to the church.

rected Major Nunn, who had arrived with the main body, to hold his ground to the last.

When the French troops left the men-of-war, the line-of-battle ships and frigates commenced a heavy fire on Fort Young, and on the town; which was answered on our side; every gun, however, in the first instance, having been turned on the boats, while within reach. Every white person, capable of bearing arms, was at this time employed against the enemy; and the ladies and their women were left with only the negroes about them. Many ladies flew to my horse's head, as I was riding through the town with orders, holding the reins—unwilling to abandon their own, and their husbands' or fathers' property—beseeching me to tell them *what* to do, or *where* to go. I gave my opinion in favour of their retiring to the country; knowing that Mrs. Prevost had gone already, and that the force of the enemy left little, if any, hope of the contest being decided so favourably for us as to allow of our retaining possession of the town. Many followed this advice.

On passing Fort Young, I found the fire kept up by the enemy was heavy and unremitted, ship after ship standing in and discharging broadside after broadside, of round and grape shot, on the town and batteries. The artillery company of the St. George's had been ordered to Melville's battery, where, under the command of Captain An-

derson, they kept up a heavy and well-directed fire on the enemy's ships. A detachment, under Lieutenant Corlet, was posted on Fort Young, to assist Captain Waller, and his party of the Royal Artillery, where Lieutenant Schaw, of the 46th, the officer of the guard, and a detachment of the 46th, also rendered the greatest service.

Again reaching Point Michel, I found Major Nunn, and his detachment, making head against the enemy, undaunted and undismayed, though a second debarkation of troops had taken place. General Prevost had withdrawn a part of Major Nunn's force, and proceeded, with the two companies of the 46th, under Captain Wolsely, and part of the St. George's militia, under Lieutenant-colonel Constable, which he judiciously posted on the top of the hill, on the only other accessible road to Roseau, with orders to prevent the enemy from turning Major Nunn's position at Point Michel. Having done this, he returned again to that scene of bloody contest, where he found the battle still raging fiercely. The enemy had made repeated attempts to storm the barrier, but had been always gallantly met, and repulsed with severe loss. Nor was our loss, although small in proportion, less to be regreted. Major Nunn had been dangerously, the parson severely, and several officers slightly wounded; and the loss of men, both regulars and militia, was in proportion. At the

time of the general's return, the gallant major was obliged to be conveyed from the field of his glory, which he did not survive; and Captain O'Connel again became commanding officer, and again received the charge of defending Point Michel. It was now past eleven, A.M.; and, hitherto, the enemy had made no impression, either on the forts or on the British troops. Soon afterwards, however, the men-of-war were observed to bear up for Woodbridge's Bay, and a debarkation of French troops was attempted, and effected on that side, where, unfortunately, no strong force could be opposed to them. Two companies of the St. George's militia were ordered from Point Michel, but arrived in time only to witness the advance of the French; and, after receiving from them a heavy fire, by which their commanding officer, Captain Atkinson, was severely wounded, and some men killed, they were compelled to retire before the superior numbers of the enemy. Even when supported by Colonel Beech, and two other companies, they found themselves quite unequal to withstand the steady and rapid advance of this part of the French army.

At this time—past one, P. M.—to add to our misfortunes, the town had been set on fire by the waddings of the guns from Fort Young, which had for some time been directed on the French ships then in Woodbridge's Bay, and keeping up

a heavy fire on the town, and all the batteries. To stop the spreading conflagration, at that moment, was impossible, the British troops being on the eve of commencing their march for Prince Rupert's, and the French advancing rapidly from Woodbridge's Bay, to take possession of the town, and, if they could, also of the batteries. Few, if any, of the white inhabitants remained in town. The negroes were panic-struck: many had accompanied the women to the country, carrying such property as could be most easily saved. The fire from the French squadron was still heavy and incessant, and the town was left to its fate.

Under these circumstances, no alternative presented itself to Governor Prevost, but to direct the troops who had so gallantly held the post of Point Michel, in despite of repeated attempts on the part of the enemy to carry it by storm, to begin their retreat for Prince Rupert's. This, after they had hastily taken some refreshment, which their active and severe service, from five A. M. until two P. M., rendered necessary, was accomplished. At the same time, the Governor, reluctantly, directed the white flag to be displayed at Fort Young, and sent two gentlemen, (the President of the Council, and Speaker of the Assembly,) on board of the French admiral's ship, to propose terms for the surrender of Roseau. The great object of this measure was that some part of the

town might yet be saved from the rapidly and widely-spreading conflagration.

Having called in the detachments of the 46th, and militia, and directed the regular troops to proceed to Prince Rupert's, by forced marches, General Prevost once more rode through the town, to ascertain, in person, the progress the enemy had made on that side. On reaching the river, he found them preparing to cross. The light-infantry of the St. George's, and some other companies, were still formed to oppose them; but the greatly superior numbers of the French, and the exposed situation of the militia, left no hope of their success; nor was it now in contemplation to prolong the contest. Taking some men of the St. George's light-infantry with him, as a body guard, and accompanied by two or three of his staff, the general found it necessary to proceed, without loss of time, on his route for Prince Rupert's, a detachment of the enemy being already in advance, to cut off his retreat. He, therefore, called upon such of the militia as were desirous of shewing farther in the service of their country, and in defence of the colony, to follow, by forced marches. The call was received with three cheers, and by the immediate advance of two companies, under Captains Beech and Armatrading. They now proceeded at a quick pace, until sure of foiling the enemy in their attempt to cut off their retreat

on this side. The French chasseurs were disposed to be as active and troublesome, in this quarter, as their riflemen had been at Point Michel, where their fire, from behind the rocks, had been destructive to our troops, until the grape-shot from the six-pounders compelled them to retire. Fortunately, however, the Governor and his party got the start of them; and, after exchanging a few shots, he advanced without farther molestation. Travelling, all night and day, through a most difficult country, and over roads seldom attempted but in day-light, he reached Prince Rupert's next evening.

At Point Michel, the resistance was continued to the last moment. Not a foot of ground had been gained at two in the afternoon, although the enemy had lost, in their repeated and very gallant attempts to storm the barrier, many valuable officers, and nearly 500 men.*

* Many highly interesting traits of gallantry were displayed on both sides, on this well-fought field. On one occasion, a large body of the enemy was observed to be advancing to storm the barrier, then defended by the grenadiers of the 46th regiment, under the command of Captain, now Colonel, Archibald Campbell, (at present commanding the same corps in India.) Captain Campbell had ordered his men to take shelter under the wall. He kept a watchful eye on the enemy, now advancing along the beach, the French colonel leading, and cheering his men. When within ten paces, Captain Campbell ordered his men up; and their musquets were already

After employing his six-pounders most effectively, rendering valuable assistance to the force employed at Point Michel, the *fighting parson* was severely wounded, towards the end of the contest, and obliged to be removed from the field. Soon afterwards, Captain O'Connel, who had made a brave defence of this post, received orders from the Governor to refresh his men, and then draw off the main body, leaving a rear-guard to maintain it as long as possible. Captain Serrant, with some militia, was to take their place, and slowly to retire before the enemy, when further defence should become unnecessary.

When the order was given for the troops to

levelled at the enemy, when the brave French officer, seeing Captain Campbell present his piece, which, being a good shot, he had instinctively taken from his right-hand-man, called out —"Tirez, Monsieur—tirez!" at the same moment waving his sword, and opening his coat, and placing his hand on his breast, as if directing the English officer where to inflict the mortal wound. Captain Campbell, instantly, put down the musquet, exclaiming—"I never can destroy that fine fellow;" but, instantly ordering his men to fire, the French colonel fell nearly at his feet, pierced by several balls, the eyes of the soldiers having been as much rivetted on him as had their captain's. The loss of men sustained by the close and deadly fire of the grenadiers, and the discharge of grape, from the six-pounders, was very great; and this column, like every preceding one, was compelled to retire, broken, and dispirited by the loss of their colonel, and many brave officers and men.

retreat to Prince Rupert's, nothing could exceed their chagrin and disappointment; but when they understood how affairs had gone on the Woodbridge side—that the enemy were advancing into the town, and that their gallant efforts could no longer be of use at Roseau—they began their march, slowly and indignantly. When they reached Rosalie, they were considerably exhausted, from the nature of their night marches, over bad roads, and through a difficult country. Many of the men had suffered from the loss of shoes, and from falling into prickly-pear hedges. The whole detachment, however, reached the garrison of Prince Rupert's the day after the Governor; and they were soon followed by that part of the St. George's militia which had volunteered from their service, and by two detachments of the 46th regiment, which had brought up the rear guard.*

* It has been stated, that Lieutenant Schaw, of the 46th regiment, was the officer on guard at Fort Young, on this day, where, with his men, he assisted in keeping up a heavy fire on the French ships. When Captain Waller, who commanded the Royal Artillery, and had charge of this fort, was directed to hoist the white flag, both officers received directions to draw off their men, and evacuate the fort, after spiking the guns. Lieutenant Schaw remained in Fort Young, until the enemy were advancing into the town on both sides. In his slow retreat, though perfectly within view of the enemy, and not half a mile distant, he, with the utmost coolness, halted his men at his own quarters, on Morne Bruce, gave each a glass of spirits, and

Several civilians, and some gentlemen belonging to the militia, preceded and followed them, after witnessing the spreading conflagration of the town, which, viewed from Morne Bruce, was a scene of the most heart-rending nature. Houses and property were seen involved, swallowed up, and consumed—the enemy had full and undisturbed possession—wives, sisters, and families, were scattered, none knew whither. When, to all this, was added the humiliation of being assembled, to deliver up their arms and colours to the French army, some idea may be conceived of the state of men's minds at this trying moment. Here, waved the tri-coloured-flag over the British ; and there, was consuming the wealth and property of hundreds, now reduced to poverty and want. It

procured a supply of bread, which they carried with them. As the French ascended to take possession of Morne Bruce, this gallant officer retired slowly before them, marching past the different detachments of militia assembled there to surrender to the enemy according to the Governor's orders. Expecting a regular siege, and fearing a consequent want of provisions, it was General Prevost's wish, that the whole of them should not proceed to Prince Rupert's. Lieutenant Schaw, however, followed the footsteps of the other regular troops, and the main body of his regiment, who preceded him, and, by forced marches, reached the garrison on the second day. The arrival of this valuable officer, and of all " the precious remains of the 46th regiment," as the general called them in his dispatches, was hailed with joy and acclamation.

is but justice, however, to mention, that the enemy shewed no disposition to abuse the advantage which they had gained. Although the disarmed militia marched past the whole line of French troops, not a word or taunting jest was heard. The loss of some of their favourite and gallant officers was frequently deplored; and the conquest of the island (which they now looked on as achieved) was considered dearly purchased, by the fall of so many men.

Hitherto, no steps had been taken to arrest the progress of the fire, which had already destroyed more than one half—the richer half—of the town; but several gentlemen of the council, and others, now waited on the French General, Le Grange, and requested the assistance of the troops to extinguish the flames, and to save, if possible, the remainder of the buildings, stores, &c. The fire was at this time extending towards Fort Young; and Charlotteville, the lower part of the town, comprehending all the mercantile portion, and the stores of the wealthiest merchants, had already been consumed. Orders were, accordingly, given for the French engineers to pull down the houses nearest to the fire; and, after much labour and great exertion, it was finally subdued.

The French officers quartered themselves in the best houses remaining, but seldom exerted either

violence or severity. General Le Grange* made government-house his head quarters; and, having learned that Mrs. Prevost, and many English ladies, had fled to the country, he next day sent a message, requesting her return; assuring her, that every civility would be shewn her, and pledging himself for the behaviour of his officers and army towards the whole of the English inhabitants. Mrs. Prevost complied with this invitation, and returned, in company with other ladies, whose houses had been destroyed.

The greater part of the French troops were quartered in Morne Bruce, where they found excellent barracks, and became the possessors of all the clothes, plate, furniture, and other valuables which had been left by the officers of the garrison. It is necessary now to mention the proceedings of the detachments under Capt. Waller, R.A., and Lieutenant Wallis, of the 46th regiment. The former, on evacuating Fort Young, commenced his march for Prince Rupert's, with the few artillerymen under his command, and had made some progress, when he, unfortunately, met a party of militia return-

* This officer served with distinction in Italy and Egypt; and, after his return from the West Indies, in Spain, where he was so severely wounded as to be rendered incapable of further service, until 1814, when he held a command in the army which, under Buonaparte, opposed the entrance of the Allies into Paris.

ing to Roseau, who represented the road as impassable, and prevailed on him also to retrace his steps. The consequence was, the whole party were made prisoners. The want of the artillerymen was severely felt at Prince Rupert's, where there were but few surviving, after the late severe sickness in that garrison; but Lieutenant Schaw's timely arrival, in a great measure, supplied this loss. Lieutenant Wallis was in charge of the post of Scot's Head, with thirty men of his regiment. He had given the earliest notice of the approach of the enemy, by firing an alarm in the night, when they were first descried between Martinico and Dominica. After the enemy had gained possession of Fort Young, Melville's battery, and Morne Bruce, the British colours were still displayed from Scot's Head: two of the French ships of the line made sail to reduce it, but they were so warmly received, and a fire so heavy was kept up on them, by Lieutenant Wallis and his party, that they were obliged to retire. Aware, however, that General Prevost had retreated to Prince Rupert's, and that the enemy would soon compel his surrender, from want of water and provisions, Lieutenant Wallis evacuated the fort, after dark, and commenced his march for Prince Rupert's, by Grand Bay. He also reached his destination in safety, unmolested by the enemy.

The arrival of these two excellent officers,

Lieutenants Schaw* and Wallis, afforded much pleasure to the general, who noticed their gallant and steady conduct in the highest terms. Lieutenant Schaw was immediately appointed to drill and practice a large detachment of the 46th and 1st West India regiment to the use of great guns, and to the charge of Fort Shirley, until the arrival of an artillery officer; a duty which he performed most ably, and, in a few days, reported his men fit for artillery duty.

At the garrison of Prince Rupert's we were kindly received by the officers of the 1st West India regiment, whose mess-room was open to every newly arrived officer; and, after a few hours' rest, the 46th regiment and militia were again fit for service.

When the French squadron first appeared, and it was doubtful whether they were friends or foes, signals had been made from Fort Young to Colonel Broughton, who commanded at Prince Rupert's; and, when their boats pushed off to land the troops, signals were again made, to prepare for an attack and siege at Prince Rupert's. Colonel Broughton had, in consequence, been indefatigable, in getting the water-tanks filled, commissariat stores removed within the garrison, and

* This gentleman, now Captain Protheroe, has succeeded to a large fortune, and is upon half-pay.

cattle driven in from the adjoining estates. The militia of that quarter of the island were assembled and inspected, and ordered to join the garrison, on the approach of the enemy, which no one doubted, after the surrender of Roseau, would immediately take place. The signals from Prince Rupert's having been transmitted no further than Grand Savannah, and the communication being thus cut off, it was late at night before Colonel Broughton was fully apprised of the situation of affairs to windward. A canoe then brought intelligence of the Governor's retreat, and of the troops under his command being in full march for the garrison. On the arrival, therefore, of General Prevost at Prince Rupert's, he found that every preparation had been made for an obstinate resistance: artillerymen alone were wanting; and this aid, so powerful, and so necessary for the defence of the fortress, he lost no time in finding a substitute for. It was his intention to defend the station to the last extremity, in the well-grounded hope of being rescued from the grasp of the enemy, by the arrival of a British naval force.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH AT ROSEAU. — DEPARTURE OF THE ROCHEFORT SQUADRON.

We have seen the enemy in possession of the town of Roseau, Forts Young and Melville, Morne Bruce, Scot's Head, and Morne Daniel. They took early possession of all the merchant vessels in the road; their first object, on the 22nd, having been to encircle, and cut them off from escape, by keeping frigates constantly to leeward. Many large and fine ships, some loading for England, and others, with valuable cargoes on board, ready to deliver, fell into their hands.

The first night and morning having been employed in subduing the conflagration, parties of negroes were afterwards sent to bury the dead of both nations, under the directions of a French detachment. The French wounded men had been conveyed on board ship; and the British into the hospital, on Morne Bruce. Some, however, of the French wounded officers were in the town, where

Major Nunn also was. The wound of that gallant officer being in the spine, he lingered for a fortnight, and then expired. The French general, with that fine feeling which distinguishes the *true* soldier of every country, not only ordered the Major's sword to be returned to him, but accompanied it with a kind and sympathising message—that it had been surrendered only when its gallant wearer had fallen wounded into their hands; and that he could not better mark his high opinion of the brave defence made by him, and by the British troops, than by returning it. He also placed a guard at his door, to prevent noise; and sent the French surgeons to assist the British in attending to his wounds.

Such conduct was highly honorable to General Le Grange. On the second day, that officer dispatched a summons to General Prevost, to surrender Prince Rupert's, and the sovereignty of the island, to the French forces. This demand was peremptorily refused; but the Governor embraced the opportunity it afforded, of thanking the French General for his civility to Mrs. Prevost, and to the other ladies of Roseau, who had fallen into his power.

It is remarkable, that, at this time, the arrival of the enemy in the West Indies was unknown, except at Martinico; and that, in England, though the escape of the Rochefort squadron was known,

its destination was conjectured to be the Mediterranean. The French ships had sailed during a gale of wind, which had blown the British blockading squadron off the coast. At length, Sir Alexander Cochrane traced their course, and pursued them, under a press of sail, to the West Indies. The enemy's cruziers, to windward of Barbados, observed Admiral Cochrane's approach, and lost no time in regaining their Admiral, Missiessy, at Dominica; his force then consisting of the Magesteux, of 120 guns, and the Leon, Jemappe, Magnanime, and Sceptre, of 74 guns each; besides numerous frigates and small vessels. In this squadron were embarked, from Rochefort, General Le Grange, and 5000 men, composing two battalions of the French 26th infantry, a fine regiment of Polish chasseurs, and corps of riflemen and artillery. This was the force to which the slender garrison* of Morne Bruce, and some militia, had been opposed on the 22nd of February.

On the fourth day of French occupation, a fri-

* 46th regiment, (about)	400	Engaged at Point Michel, and barrier gate	500
Light infantry, 1st West India regiment	60	At Melville's battery and Fort Young	120
St. George's militia	320	Roseau river and Woodbridge's Bay	220
Captain Serrant's, Company ditto	60		
	840		840

gate came down from windward, with signals flying; and, soon afterwards, the bustle of preparation to re-embark was apparent. The French frigates anchored in the roads; and working parties were sent to fit out the prizes, and to send on board of them all the king's stores and valuable merchandize which they could lay hold of. To ouch the latter, it should be observed, was contrary to the articles of capitulation: some part of it was, in consequence, restored, on being claimed; but much of the property of those who were absent was carried off.

It was conjectured that the enemy were preparing to attack Prince Rupert's; an attempt, the delay of which had excited surprise; but a requisition being now made, for a contribution of £20,000 sterling, a different view began to be formed, and it was hoped that a British force was not far distant. Such a sum would, a few days before, have been raised without difficulty; but, under present circumstances, it was not to be had. However, the Council and Assembly were summoned, by order of the French commanders; their demand was stated; and the necessity for immediate compliance was enforced by threats of pillage, should it be refused. After various delays, they at length agreed to receive £12,000, which was with difficulty collected, and colonial receipts were granted to those who furnished the money.

On the following day, having embarked the stores and troops, the French fleet got under weigh, with their prizes, (above twenty sail), mostly large vessels and West Indiamen, and stood away towards Prince Rupert's. In the evening, the burning of one of their prizes, formed a sublime spectacle as seen from Prince Rupert's and the high lands. They carried with them much valuable property, and many negroes; several of whom afterwards escaped, and returned from Guadaloupe to their former masters.

The conduct of the slave population of Dominica, at this time, was distinguished by a devotedness of attachment which reflected on them the highest honour. Left almost entirely to themselves, on the morning of attack, they were occupied the whole day in removing their masters' property to the country, and in attending to the wishes and commands of the women. Not only valuable effects, but large sums of money were entrusted to their charge; and in no instance was this confidence abused. The good conduct of these people did not pass unrewarded: several were manumitted by the colony, and others by their masters, in reward of their fidelity.

The French squadron, with their prizes, formed a grand but painful sight to the inhabitants of Dominica, as they slowly sailed away from Roseau; and many an eager look was cast to windward, in

the hope that a British squadron might be seen in pursuit.

The enemy had been apprised of Sir Alexander Cochrane's arrival, and of his detention at Barbados to wood and water. Soon after their departure, a frigate from Guadaloupe was observed to join them. General Erneuf, as we subsequently learned, was in her; and he very strongly urged, that an immediate attack should be made on Prince Rupert's; offering, at the same time, to head the troops in the attempt to take it by storm. When the fleet reached Prince Rupert's a council of war was held, and the garrison was again summoned to surrender, but without effect. At the council, the French admiral declared his intention of proceeding to Europe, according to his instructions, and that he would remain only to land the troops. However, as the military could do nothing without the men-of-war, or were not willing to run the risk, the attempt was abandoned; and on the same evening the troops were landed at Guadaloupe, excepting a small force, for further operations to leeward. The squadron proceeded to Antigua and St. Christopher's; capturing, at the former, a small convoy of British ships preparing to depart for Europe, in hopes of escape; and, at the latter, several vessels loading sugar and rum for England. —They levied heavy contributions at both islands,

and landed 500 men at Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, to enforce compliance with their commands. Having received the money, they embarked the remainder of the troops in two frigates, and sent them back to Guadaloupe with the prize ships. The flying squadron, which had swept the West India seas, then sailed for Europe, and actually reached France without meeting a single British cruizer! The two frigates, left to carry back the troops, were less fortunate: one was taken, and the other destroyed. Governor Prevost now returned to Roseau, with the main body of the 46th regiment, under command of Captain James; 100 men of that corps having been left as a reinforcement to the garrison of Prince Rupert's, under command of Captain Archibald Campbell. The militia had been allowed o return some time before.

When I again entered Roseau — the scene of former joys — and beheld it a mass of ruins, the outskirts of the town, and more remote streets, alone remaining, my heart almost died within me. Families, accustomed to the first houses in town, were now huddled together in negro huts, and very thankful even for such shelter.

The first step taken by the governor was to send home a strong representation of the state of affairs in the colony, and of the distress of the inhabitants of Roseau. A large sum was in consequence

immediately granted, and afterwards distributed according to their respective losses. Though only a small part of the loss could be repaired, it was, at the time, of the utmost importance to the poor sufferers, enabling many to rebuild their houses on a small scale, and to recommence business. The British merchants in London also evinced the utmost forbearance and consideration towards their unfortunate correspondents in Dominica. It was long, however, very long, before the colony recovered the blow; and the town of Roseau presents, even yet, only the shadow of its greatness, before the 22nd of February, 1805. The property destroyed at that period, was estimated at little short of 300,000*l.* sterling.

The distressed state of the colony was not viewed with indifference by the neighbouring British islands; subscriptions were raised in several; and vessels were despatched, loaded with provisions and necessaries for the use of those who had lost their all. Supplies of all sorts, for the troops, were also speedily forwarded from Barbados; and some of the poorer white and free inhabitants received rations until better times arrived.

It was remarkable, that although the enemy had kept up a heavy fire on the batteries, and on the town, for many hours, scarcely any loss of lives was

sustained.* The houses were riddled, and injured by the shot; but with the exception of one or two negroes, I recollect of none being killed. One of the members of council, (the gentleman to whom these volumes are inscribed,) whose exertions were most conspicuous wherever they could be useful, had a very narrow escape in entering Fort Young: a 32-pound shot struck the gateway immediately over his head, and the splinters flew in all directions around him; yet he escaped, long, I hope, to survive, as a blessing to his friends, and a benefactor to the human race.

This was the first blow the enemy had attempted during the war; and as the defence of Dominica was considered a very brilliant affair,

* The heaviest loss of men, on both sides, occurred at Point Michel, where the contest was long and bloody. The enemy landed upwards of 3,000 men, and sustained a loss of 500 killed and wounded: they also suffered on board the ships, but it was never ascertained to what extent. Besides Major Nunn, mortally, and Captain O'Connel, slightly, Captain Colin Campbell, (lately Major and Lieutenant-colonel of the Royals, and now on half-pay) of the 46th light infantry; and Lieutenant Isles of the 1st West India, were wounded; and about 40 men of these corps and of the militia were killed or wounded. Swords and gratuities were afterwards voted to all these officers, and to Captain Atkinson of the St. George's militia who lost his arm, by the Patriotic Fund; and also gratuities to the wounded men.

General Prevost was created a baronet, on his return to England, when presented to his late majesty. He also received a handsome sword from the Patriotic Fund.*

Reinforcements of troops, with ample supplies of ammunition, stores, &c. were promptly despatched by government for the protection and relief of Dominica.

The greatest part of the merchant ships, which had been carried off by the enemy, were sold at Guadaloupe, for the advantage of the captors. They were chiefly purchased by neutrals, (Danes and Swedes,) for the merchants in Dominica, acting in most cases for the owners in England, who thus became again possessed of them, (supposing them to have been insured,) on better terms than if they had purchased them in England. They returned to Dominica under neutral colours, in great want of sails and stores, of which they had been plundered by the Rochefort squadron.

At a period of such general suffering—amidst this wreck of property and fortune, of comfort

* Captain, now Colonel O'Connel, who had succeeded Major Grant on the General's staff, was promoted to be major of the 73rd, of which he still holds the command. He brought that fine regiment home from Ceylon, where he rendered eminent services in the Kandian war, during Sir Robert Brownrigge's government of that colony.

and happiness — the affectionate exertions of woman to cheer the desponding hearts, and raise the drooping spirits of husbands, relations, and friends, were all that man could wish, and more than he could hope. Her fortitude, her resignation, her heroism, was all in all. It would be treason against the sex,—against all that is lovely, and amiable, and good — to withhold the warmest tribute man can offer to their virtues. Fortunately for them, the enemy behaved with moderation. Indeed, the French General Le Grange effectually exerted his authority to preserve the inhabitants of all ranks and classes from insult or injury. The negroes and pillage were embarked even without his orders or knowledge.

COMBINED FLEETS IN THE WEST INDIES. — NELSON'S FLEET. — GENERAL PREVOST.

THE departure of the Rochefort squadron had scarcely given a breathing time to the inhabitants of Roseau, when, early in May, accounts were received, by a despatch vessel, of the arrival at Martinico of the combined French and Spanish fleets, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, besides frigates and sloops, and having 7000 troops on board. At this time their ships were far advanced in their loading for Europe, and nearly ready to sail. The alarming intelligence once more converted the colonists into soldiers; martial law was proclaimed; and, in an hour after the news had been received, the troops and militia were under arms. General Prevost reminded them of their former gallant conduct; and intimated that, should Dominica be the enemy's present object, it was not his intention to defend Roseau, but to assemble his whole strength at Prince Rupert's, and there to bid them defiance. The governor's address was

received by the whole line with three cheers; and, soon afterwards, all the regular troops, with the exception of a small detachment of the 46th under command of Captain James, were on their march for Prince Rupert's. One half of the St. George's regiment of militia, again fit for service, were also marched off next morning for the same destination.

Brigadier-General Samuel Dalrymple, who had arrived a few days before, to relieve General Prevost, in the military command, was ordered to assume the command of the garrison at Prince Rupert's; and all the staff officers and heads of departments were also sent thither, to complete the supplies and stores necessary for standing a siege. General Prevost was now detained with the fleet which had been preparing to sail for England, until the arrival of further orders. He had strong reason to expect that he should be again attacked, as it was reported that Dominica and St. Lucia were to be the first conquests attempted by the enemy in the West Indies. Consequently, after completing his arrangements at Roseau, he proceeded to Prince Rupert's, to review the garrison, and see that the troops were in fighting trim. So popular was this brave, though afterwards unfortunate officer, that his arrival and presence inspired the fullest confidence. The troops were all at their posts — the lines and

batteries were manned — and, in the general and garrison orders afterwards issued, the governor declared himself well satisfied with their soldierly and steady appearance. He remained at Prince Rupert's only two or three days; having received accounts that the French troops were sickly, that most of them had been landed at Martinico, and that the ships of war were blockading, and proceeding to the attack of, the Diamond Rock. At Roseau, he was more in the way of immediate communication with Barbados, and with the commanders of the British forces.

At Prince Rupert's we now mustered a very strong and formidable garrison. Every preparation continued to be made by General Dalrymple, who remained with us, whilst the Governor and his suite continued at Roseau, until the news of the capture of the Diamond Rock, and until the re-embarkation of the French troops left no doubt on his mind, that they were preparing to attack some of the British colonies.

On the 1st of June, General Prevost returned to Prince Rupert's, attended by six gentlemen of the colony, exempted from militia duty, formed into a small corps of cavalry, as honorary aides-de-camps. He had directed Captain James to move forward to Prince Rupert's with his detachment, and the remainder of the St. George's militia, the moment

the enemy should make his appearance, and to continue his route by forced marches, until sure of getting into the garrison.

The Jason frigate, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Champaign, had anchored in the bay, (where were now assembled all the merchant shipping) the day before, ignorant of the arrival of the enemy until pursued by two of their frigates cruising off Guadaloupe. He had recently arrived on the station with the Cork fleet, and was returning to join Admiral Cochrane, who had now relieved Commodore Hood in the naval command. Capt. Champaign immediately tendered his own and ship's company's services, to be employed as might be deemed most useful. This offer was gladly accepted; the frigate was dismantled; her water and provisions were landed; the crew were received as a seasonable reinforcement to the garrison; the seamen, under command of their own officers, were posted at the different batteries, with the artillery, and the marines and small-arm men attached to the 46th regiment; and Capt. Champaign was nominated third in command in the garrison.

The brushwood along the sides of the inner cabarite had been cut down, to prevent the enemy from finding shelter in any attempt they might make to storm on that side; and every other pre-

caution was taken which the general or engineer officer (then Captain, now Colonel Arnold, son of the American general) could devise. On the 4th of June, the anniversary of the birth-day of our late gracious Sovereign, the troops were ordered to parade, and to fire a *feu-de-joie* from the lines and batteries.

At four o'clock I was preparing to leave my quarters, above Fort Shirley, on the face of the inner cabarite, to attend the governor's dinner, when I distinctly observed a large frigate with French colours, over the low land at Point Round. Descending to the fort, I met the General's aid-de-camp and nephew, Lieut. Prevost, to whom I communicated the circumstance. The General coming up at the moment, ordered us back to my quarters, to *look again* at her. Before our return, however, signal after signal from Point Round confirmed the news, and acquainted the General that the enemy's fleet of seventeen sail of the line, &c. were then off Roseau.

We went to dinner, about seventy in number, in great spirits. At half-past five the garrison was under arms. We passed, it may be supposed, an anxious night at our posts. Before dawn, there being a brilliant moon, the officers and men on guard distinctly perceived the combined fleet sailing slowly along, and the current setting them

into Prince Rupert's bay. At three o'clock, the heavy tread of the grenadiers of the 46th regiment under Capt. A. Campbell, taking up their ground on the lines in front of my quarters, awoke me from unrefreshing slumber; and, having hastily dressed myself, I was saluted, on appearing, by that gallant officer calling out, "Hollo, my boy! here we have them at last!" With him I was to do duty as a volunteer, until wanted by the General for other service. The enemy's ships were beautifully painted, had gay streamers and colours, French and Spanish, flying; yet, on the whole, their appearance was less warlike than that of the Rochefort squadron. The General ordered the British colours to be shewn from all the batteries; and at this time, soon after gun-firing on the morning of the 5th of June, the scene was truly magnificent. The ships, despite of their endeavours to stand out to sea, were swept more and more into the bay by the current. Though still out of gunshot, we had no idea but that they meant to attack us. They were sufficiently near to see the warlike array of the garrison; but we knew that they had a strong body of troops on board, fully prepared for conquest.

The crew of the Jason were at this time busily employed in Fort Shirley, and the other batteries, in heating shot, that they might give the enemy a

warm reception. In the midst of their operations, they were cracking jokes on the advancing *Monsieurs* and *Dons*. "The more danger the more glory," was their motto.—Jack's humour and drollery were soon passed along the lines; and, by six o'clock, the combined fleets were viewed as coolly as though they had been a Cork convoy. At that hour the militia began to arrive from all quarters; and, before eight, there was an addition to the garrison of 500 men. Capt. James, having marched all night, brought in his detachment of the 46th at the same hour.

The land breeze, coming off shore about nine o'clock, we perceived the enemy's ships tacking, and bearing away before it; and the General, and Captain Champain, having rode to the top of the outer cabarite, to reconnoitre their motions, were soon satisfied that no attack was intended at that time, the favourable moment for landing their troops having been lost.

The British garrison was then dismissed to breakfast. By eleven o'clock, the enemy's fleet was far advanced across the Guadaloupe channel; having passed over the very spot where the great battle of the 12th of April was fought, between Rodney and De Grasse; and, but for erroneous information, Lord Nelson would have overtaken them in the same space of water, and we should

have beheld, what every heart desired, every tongue expressed, and every eye was strained to see, but in vain. The enemy were crowding every sail to elude his pursuit, and outstrip him in the anxious chace; but no Nelson came. At twelve they were no longer in sight!

Thus passed away the formidable fleet, for the reception of which we had been well prepared, and which we still supposed would attack some of the British colonies to leeward, perhaps less capable of defence.

No sooner had the enemy disappeared to leeward, than the governor dispatched his aid-de-camp, Lieut. Prevost, to Roseau, with the news; and, at four in the afternoon, he announced by signal, Lord Nelson's arrival at Barbados in pursuit. The next signal, however, was death to our hopes: it told us that his Lordship had sailed two days before for Trinidad, the supposed destination of the enemy.

The enemy, aware of Lord Nelson's arrival, having kept frigates cruising to windward off Barbados to apprise them, hastily put to sea, and succeeded in leaving the West Indies without encountering their pursuer. Their good fortune, however, ceased on reaching Europe; for, on the 21st of October, the same year, Lord Nelson defeated this same fleet, then increased to 34 sail of

the line, and secured the naval ascendancy of Britain by the glorious victory of Trafalgar; a victory in which it was his fate to fall, with the brave Captains Duff and Cooke, and many other heroes, bequeathing, with his dying breath, security to his country, giving thanks to God that he had lived to conquer, and "to do his duty!"

Tranquillity once more restored throughout the islands, again the gallant 40th, the militia, and staff, bade adieu to Prince Rupert's, at no time a pleasant or desirable station, and repaired to their old quarters on Morne Bruce, and Roseau. Addresses of thanks were voted to the governor, and also to Commodore Hood *, who had already sailed for England.

General Prevost having resigned the command †

* This lamented officer died in command of the squadron employed in the East Indies, in 1813.

† It is due to the memory of a brave and gallant soldier, devoted from his earliest years to the service of his King and country, to state the high estimation in which those services were held, not only by the troops whom he commanded, and the community over which he presided, in the trying times of invasion and danger, but by those who, at a distance from the scene, regarded them as the precursors of future fame, on a larger field.

In 1805, General Prevost was esteemed, by the service to which he belonged, and by the whole kingdom, as one of the best officers which graced its ranks. Often

of the troops to Brigadier-General Dalrymple, and

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has it been regretted by his friends and admirers (the writer is impelled equally by gratitude and regard to his memory to claim a place for himself amongst the number) that his offers to serve in the Peninsula, under the illustrious Wellington, the great master in the art of war, were not accepted. In former West Indian campaigns, the valiant Picton and he had fought side by side, rivals only in glory, each a choice leader of Sir Ralph Abercromby's troops, after Sir John Moore's and Lord Hopetoun's return to Europe, on account of sickness. Than Sir Ralph Abercromby there was not a better judge of military merit; and he selected Picton to command at Trinidad, and Prevost at St. Lucia, after the conquest of those colonies.

On his arrival in England, General Prevost was immediately presented at court, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him for his gallant defence of Dominica, and previous services at the reduction of St. Lucia and Tobago. He was soon afterwards appointed Lieut.-Governor of Portsmouth, and Colonel of a regiment. Next he was appointed Governor of Halifax. He proceeded thence, by orders from England, with four regiments, to assist in the reduction of Martinico; his local knowledge in the West Indies being considered of great importance, and perhaps superior to that of any other officer. On his arrival, he found Sir George Beckwith by no means satisfied as to the practicability of the attempt to wrest this fine colony from the enemy; and it is well known, that it was only the repeated offers of Sir George Prevost to take all responsibility on himself, that led to

the government of the colony into the hands of the

the accomplishment of the expedition. As second in command, he rendered the most distinguished services in the capture of that colony; and, in conjunction with Sir George Beckwith and Sir Alexander Cochrane, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

Returning to his command at Halifax, with the troops he had carried with him, he soon received orders to embark them (the fusileer brigade) for the Peninsula, where the Duke of Wellington was then carrying on active operations against the enemy. Sir George was most anxious to accompany them; but the commencement of the American war rendered his services necessary, nearer to his then command, and he remained at Halifax. His nephews, however, Capts. James and Henry Prevost, then serving on his staff, both embarked with their regiments, and soon found honourable graves; the former, my lamented young friend, having been mortally wounded at Fuentes d'Honore, and the latter killed on Albuera's bloody field. Capt. James Prevost was serving as brigade major to Sir Charles Colville, who said of him that he had never seen a finer young man, or more gallant officer!

Sir George remained some time longer at Halifax, and was then appointed Governor-General of Canada; and on his removal, addresses from the Council and Assembly of that province were voted to him.

No man could have entered on this government with more promising appearances; but the newly-commenced war with the United States made it one of much responsibility and great anxiety. The Americans lost no time in penetrating with far superior numbers into Canada, where

President of the Council, sailed for England, on

Sir George had only at that time a very slender force (three or four British regiments) and the militia, to oppose to them. With it, however, he successfully repelled all their attempts for two successive campaigns; but their success on Lake Erie, despite of the brave and heroic conduct of Capt. Barclay *, and his not half-manned squadron, and the vastly superior numbers the Americans were always enabled to bring into the field, gave now such a turn to the aspect of affairs, that the British government found it necessary to pay more attention to the war in this quarter. Accordingly, strong reinforcements of troops, ships, and seamen, were at length forwarded to Canada, where, under the immediate command of Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James Yeo, they succeeded, after hard fighting, in arresting the progress of the enemy. They had still, however, superior numbers to contend with, who, like the Russians in the time of Peter the Great, had been disciplined into veterans by a succession of defeats.

The abdication of Buonaparte in 1814 enabled Ministers to detach a part of the gallant army, which had fought and conquered under the Duke of Wellington, to expel the American armies from Canada, and follow them into the heart of the States; and never were more excellent officers, or finer soldiers, placed under the command of any general, than was the army then transported from Bordeaux to

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* Most deservedly promoted some time since to the rank of Post Captain, on his return from service at Algiers. This gallant officer, and also Sir Robert Barclay, K.C.B. who was Adjutant-General with the Duke of Wellington in the East Indies, and at the battle of Assaye, are of the same family as Barclay de Tolly.

the 1st of August, with his family, in the Hawkes-

Quebec. They were immediately sent forward to meet the enemy; and Sir George took the field at their head. Now it was, that over caution, or a wish to preserve his army from unavailing sacrifices and loss, damped the ardour of his troops, frustrated the wishes and intentions of the British government, and, alas! sullied the brightness of his own former fame!

Sir George had unfortunately served only in the colonies, and on home districts. He was a stranger to service on an *extended* scale, such as the officers and men he now commanded had just left. They came, resolved to carry all before them; and there can be no doubt that they would have carried the enemy's position at Platsburgh, without very great loss. The British government was anxious that a *blow* should be struck against the Americans; and it is to be regretted that Sir George was not more deeply impressed with this conviction. He considered the possession of Platsburgh as of no value, without the destruction of the enemy's naval force. Commodore Downie's squadron was defeated, however, and Sir George did not risk the attack on the works, which, although carried, he could not hold in the absence of a superior naval force. He erred both in not attacking the lines when Commodore Downie so boldly bore down on their ships, and still more in the eyes of his army and the British government, in not doing so even after the loss of the ships, and avenging that loss on the enemy by their capture and defeat at Platsburgh. Even should he have sustained loss, and been obliged to retreat immediately, that retreat would have been less disastrous, and less hu-

bury, Capt. Cann, attended by the good wishes of the whole community.

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miliating to the army, after fairly beating the Americans. The opportunity was lost, and, too late, Sir George found that he had disappointed the hopes of the British troops, accustomed to victory, no less than those of the country and government.

At home, the public opinion was loudly expressed for the recal and trial of Sir George Prevost. It was necessary to comply with this feeling. Sir George returned to England, broken-hearted. The court-martial was delayed, to allow the return of officers from Canada; but finding his military fame blasted, and years of former glory, of faithful and devoted service, unable to obliterate the disgrace of Platsburgh from the minds of the army, or of the British people, he fell a victim to the loss of what is dearest to a soldier — the estimation of the brave, and the applause of heroes.

Thus perished, at an early age, a man who, had he carried Platsburgh, with the finest troops he ever commanded, as he had carried Morne Fortunée and Martinico (more formidable places), would have died in the fulness of his fame.

Sir George Prevost was a good man and a brave officer. It was a generous and an amiable trait in the late Ministers to create the son of this unfortunate officer a baronet, and to order that General Prevost's services in the West Indies should be quartered in his coat of arms.

DEPARTURE FROM DOMINICA—TORTOLA — MONTSERRAT — NEVIS — ST. KITT'S—VOYAGE TO ENGLAND.

In the fleet then preparing to sail for England, the writer of these "Recollections" took his departure from Dominica, where he had spent several years of chequered fortune. On those years he now looks back "as on a far distant shore," from which the mariner sails, with parting reluctance, although he is under weigh for a better country — for the home of his fathers — of his family and early companions. I left many friends behind me, few of whom, alas! remain; and those, like myself, changed "from giddy youth to age's sobered hue."

Embarking in the garrison boat for Prince Rupert's, I surveyed, for the last time, the fine table mountain of Morne Bruce, with its barracks and numerous buildings — the beautiful valley and river of Roseau flowing between mountains of irregular heights and shapes, most of them clothed with wood to their tops, on which rested the fleecy

clouds, or with the verdure of cane fields, and rich parterres of coffee bushes perfuming the air.

We embarked on the evening of the 4th of July; but we lay at anchor at Prince Rupert's for some days, where were assembled upwards of twenty sail of deeply laden West Indiamen, with the year's produce of Dominica on board. The Galatea frigate was expected hourly to convoy them to St. Kitt's; and on the 9th we saw her standing into the bay, during a severe storm of thunder and lightning, by which the frigate was struck, her mainmast wounded, her decks torn up, and sixteen of her men more or less hurt. However, we got under weigh next morning, in all, twenty-four sail. Slowly we moved along, clearing the deep bay of Prince Rupert's, and gradually losing sight of its lofty scenery and shores, until Guadaloupe was opened to our view. Under its lee, we fell in with the Ramilies, and Illustrious, of 74 guns each, which spoke our commodore, and informed him that they were bound to Grenada and Demerara, to collect and carry down the trade to Tortola, and that the fleet would not finally leave the West Indies before the 1st of August. We passed close to the fine island of Guadaloupe, and saw the Saintes' Islands at a distance. The former appeared richly cultivated; beautiful plantations of sugar and coffee stretching from the shore to the

upland heights, and fine houses and cottages enlivening the scene.

Next morning, we were abreast of Montserrat; and the signal was made for the ships waiting convoy, to join the fleet. However, as they were dilatory in their motions, we had time to look about us on this pretty little *English* island, which is reckoned the most beautiful and salubrious of the West Indian colonies—the Montpelier of the tropics. Plymouth is the chief town. There we remained for an hour or two, and found it a place of some trade and consquence, and abounding with turtle, of which we received an additional supply, and also some excellent pines and oranges. The few ships loaded there having got under weigh, we proceeded on our course, passing Redonda, (a rocky islet, rising out of the ocean like a hay-cock,) so near that we could have pitched a biscuit on it. A thick and heavy squall had obscured it from our view, until we were close to it, when, as by magic, it rose like a mighty giant before our eyes. Next,—to the north of Montserrat—we beheld the small island of Nevis, shooting up conically, its lofty summit enveloped in a canopy of clouds.—We called also at this beautiful island, for its portion of the trade. Its appearance was engaging and delightful; its sloping fields, as verdant as the heart can imagine, or desire; with houses, planta-

tions, and negro cottages scattered around; a belt of evergreens cresting the neck of the summit. On the side of the island looking towards St. Kitt's, the shape of the cone is less perfect. At Charlestown, the capital, I understand there are mineral baths; but we had no opportunity of visiting them.

St. Kitt's is within view of both these islands. We anchored there, at Sandy-Point Bay, the same evening, under Brimstone Hill, a strong fortress, in which the garrison of the island is stationed. Here the Galatea was repaired. Her indulgent commander, when the repairs were completed, allowed half the ship's company to go on shore daily; and he never, on these occasions, lost a man by desertion. During our stay at St. Kitt's, we also went on shore every day, and rode, or drove round the greater part of the island. We first visited the town of Sandy-Point, a small but agreeable place, and the fortress of Brimstone Hill, where our old friends of the 11th regiment were in garrison, and heartily glad to see us at their mess-table. The works are strong, situated on a lofty and imposing hill, projecting into the sea; precipitous on all sides but one, and backed by mountains, which unfortunately command it. Basse Terre, the capital town, has many good houses, and a large and handsome square. The vale of Basse Terre exceeded all

that I had seen in richness of cultivation, when viewed at a little distance from the smooth ascent to Monkey Hill, which crowns the heights on that side. Mount Misery stands on the other side.—Of volcanic origin, it rises bare and black, its top enveloped in clouds, deepening the contrast with the highly cultivated fields.—The roads are excellent, and you can *drive* round the whole island, except on the southern side, where there are large salt ponds. Here are several beautiful villages, inhabited chiefly by free coloured people, who have greater privileges at St. Kitt's than in other islands. The proprietors and planters are a respectable and well educated class. On the estates, many of them large and valuable, are windmills, which heighten the picturesque effect; resembling, in some respects, that of a large farm in England—*like, but not the same.* Were I to select the spot most desirable for residence in the West Indies, it would be this beautiful island, where I passed ten days, and found them all too short.

Our convoy was now increased to 50 sail, by the arrival of the Beaulieu and Barbados frigates, Captains Ekins* and Nourse,† with ships from St. Lucia and Barbados; and on the 21st, the

* Author of the Naval Battles.

† This excellent officer died lately at Madagascar, while Commodore on the Cape of Good Hope station.

signal was made to sail for Tortola, where the fleet was appointed to rendezvous. Passing near the Danish island of St. Thomas, and St. Eustatia, a Dutch settlement, we on the third day came in sight of low lying land, bare and barren, unlike the beautiful scenery we had left at St. Kitt's. Approaching nearer, we saw several islets, and, ere long, clusters of them innumerable; reminding us of the description of coral reefs, and rocks, which Captain Cook gives in his voyages. In fact, we had arrived on the banks of coral; and consequently, were obliged to keep the lead carefully going, until the fleet came to anchor, which it did in a few hours.

We were now amongst the Virgin Islands. At Tortola, we found several men of war, and a large fleet assembled from the various islands. Some, however, were still wanting, and for them we were to wait until the 1st of August.

During the time we lay here, I went ashore every morning and bathed. The small island of St. Ann's grows nothing but cotton.—The inhabitants make large quantities of salt, by the process of exhalation: many thousands of bushels are annually exported to America; the vessels of that nation generally calling here for salt on their homeward voyages.

At length, we were cheered with the sight of the

two line-of-battle ships coming down with their convoys, and the signal flying to prepare to sail. Instantly the whole fleet unmoored. At 5 P. M., the Illustrious, Captain Shield, of 74 guns (our Commodore to England) made the signals to follow. In his anxious charge — the fleet now consisting of 370 sail of valuable and deeply-laden, but badly manned ships — the Barbados frigate of 32 guns, Captain Nourse, the ————, Captain Maxwell, and the Proselyte of 24 guns, Captain Woolscombe, were appointed to assist, and to proceed to England; and the Ramilies, of 74 guns, Captain Pickmore, and the Unicorn, Beatrice, Amelia, Circe, and Galatea frigates, to accompany us to a certain latitude, and then return to Barbados.

We had thus the greater part of the naval force on the Leeward island station with us, as the enemy had several fleets and squadrons on the look-out for our return. The Blanche frigate, Captain Mudge, was fallen in with, and captured in our immediate track, only two days before we reached it.

The first part of our voyage was pleasant and agreeable. People at sea are often at a loss how to kill time. In our ship we had books, of which we did not soon tire; and we frequently resorted to fishing as an amusement. In the tropical latitudes, the catching of dolphins, sharks, and barracutas, constitutes an interesting occupation. It is curious to

observe the shoals of flying-fish endeavouring to escape from these ruthless enemies. As the poets have told us, from time immemorial, the dolphin, when dying, exhibits beautiful shades of colouring. The barracuta, in size and flavour, resembles turbot. The shark affords the longest and best sport.

In fine weather, nothing can be more pleasant *at sea*, than to sail in a large fleet. It produces a constant and animating change of scene—it is living, as it were, in a large city—the ships are continually changing places, the men-of-war going in chace, or to bring up the heavy sailers—the commodore making signals, and the frigates repeating them—and the different ships sailing abreast of each other holding communication and conversation through the hoarse trumpets, asking for news, friends on board, &c.

By the 18th of August, we had advanced considerably on our voyage. Most of the men-of-war had left us, and returned to their station, and we had now only those appointed to see us to England. The commodore therefore shortened sail, called the masters on board, gave them instructions, and appointed six armed ships to carry pendants, and to assist in taking care of the convoy.*

* One of these was the Thetis, of Lancaster, Captain Charnley, which had loaded at Dominica. She had pre-

On the 21st it began to blow very hard, and we had every indication of a severe gale of wind, all the miseries of which we experienced before night. During its continuance, five or six vessels were seen to founder in the small part of the fleet which continued to keep sight of the commodore. The Illustrious lay by them, without a rag of sail set, yet could afford no aid, for no boat could have lived a moment. Happily, at mid-day, the gale moderated, and many vessels rejoined our now scattered convoy. The Barbados had put before the wind, and she reached England long before us. She could not lie to, and Captain Nourse had no alternative but to run. The other vessels of war rejoined us, each bringing a portion of the convoy; but many ships had parted company, and did not again fall in with us.

We expected to make the Western islands in a few days; but we had now to contend with contrary winds; and as there were many heavy sailers in the fleet, it was the 1st of September before we reached their latitude. On the 14th, we spoke the

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viously fought a very gallant action with the famous French privateer, Buonaparte, which she beat off, assisted by two other letters of marque. This ship was often sent in chace of strange vessels, being a faster sailer than the men-of-war, after the Barbados had parted company in the gale.

Hawkesbury; and Governor Prevost informed us of Sir Robert Calder's action, and capture of two ships of the enemy, which had been communicated to the commodore by an American vessel.

The first week in October found us still retarded by contrary winds, and the ships requiring daily supplies from the commodore. At length the wind shifted, and we made great progress for eight or ten days. Experiencing a decided change in the temperature of the atmosphere, we began to equip ourselves in warm clothing. The dulness of the mornings, the raw and chilling fogs, or heavy rain, all indicated our approach to the British channel.—Many of the ships were by this time in great distress, and the stores of the ships-of-war were also nearly exhausted.

On the morning of the 15th, I was awaked by the captain, and told to come on deck, where I should see a finer sight than the combined fleets of France and Spain, which many of us, a few months before, had *seen* without *admiring*. Hastily *rigging out*, we were on deck in an instant, and there beheld around us the channel fleet of England, under the command of Admiral Cornwallis, the veteran favorite of the sailors, and as brave an officer as ever served his king and country. His fleet consisted of 27 sail of the line, half of them three-deckers, and the finest men-of-war in the

world. After gazing with delight and admiration on this noble fleet, I observed, that, besides the men-of-war, we were surrounded by, and sailing in the midst of large merchantmen, all new and unknown to us. It was immediately conjectured to be the Jamaica fleet. We saw another ship of the line lying with the Illustrious, alongside of the Victory, Admiral Cornwallis's flag-ship. Shortly afterwards, this vessel, which was the Veteran, of 64 guns, Captain Newman (subsequently lost in the Hero) bore away from the fleet, and signals were made, and repeated by the frigates, the object of which we soon knew to be that of impressing men from the distressed convoys, miserably short-handed as they were already. Upwards of 50 boats were immediately lowered down. They proceeded to the nearest ships, which they boarded; but so little success had they, that in a short time they were recalled, and the whole of the Jamaica and Leeward island fleets proceeded up channel under charge of the Illustrious alone — our frigates having been previously obliged to leave us for supplies. The Proselyte, however, rejoined us next day. *

* Impressment is repugnant to the feelings of every man. It is worse than West India slavery. Captain Griffith's excellent book on the subject will, I trust, prove the means of much good; as it has thrown new light on a practice which has hitherto been practised on the plea

We now ascertained what had been our commodore's object, in steering for the coast of France —a course that had puzzled us. He had received intelligence that the Rochefort squadron was on the look out for us, and that they had captured a dozen of our stragglers. Had it not been for their encounter with the Centurion and her convoy, they would probably have fallen in with us. Captain Shield therefore carried us down to the channel fleet, to obtain protection and information, and now heard that our *good friends* from Rochefort had returned to port with their prizes. We accordingly proceeded on our course, careless as to Monsieur, and anxious only to make the land.

On the 18th of October we made the coast of England. Its minute features became hourly more distinct. The face of Nature, when first seen after a long voyage, awakens a thousand ideas and emotions, that have been dormant during the period

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of necessity — the only plea that can justify or extenuate its cruelty. — Our cook, the only British sailor on board, except the master and mate, was carried away on this occasion, but afterwards returned; being 70 years of age. Other poor sailors, however, when ready to land once more on their native shore to meet their wives and children, were taken: the country required seamen, and there was a necessity for taking them.

spent at sea, and diffuses a sunshine over the mind which brings all its tender and benevolent affections into play. Our hearts are fondly turned — our eyes fixed — in the direction of Home — sweet Home!

There's a tear that lightens the eye
Of a friend, when absence is o'er;
There's a tear that flows, not from sorrow, but joy,
When we meet to be parted no more.

On the 19th we at length cast anchor at St. Helen's, having been eleven weeks at sea, and fifteen on board of ship. Commodore, now Commissioner Shield, then delivered up his charge, which he had unceasingly watched over and preserved. The passengers once more set foot on English ground, and parted to seek their respective families and friends.

——— Rocks of my country!
My spirit greets you as ye stand,
Breasting the billows' foam;
Oh, thus for ever guard the land,
The sacred land of Home!

HEMANS.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLIMATE, PRODUCE, GOVERNMENT, AND INHABITANTS OF THE WEST INDIES.

THE climate of the West Indies has long been proverbially inimical to the European constitution. Some seasons are more sickly than others; and the islands, called Windward and Leeward, from their relative position in the Caribbean sea, have each their season of suffering. The uncleared colonies are more destructive to health than the old islands, which have been freed from wood, and are highly cultivated; and the towns are healthful, or otherwise, according to situation, selected often more for convenience and protection, than for health or comfort; a remark which applies to the barracks and garrisons for the king's troops.

The island of Dominica has always been considered one of the most sickly in the West Indies; but it has only its sickly seasons. Some parts of it are much more insalubrious than others. The town of Roseau, though well laid out, is very hot; Morne Bruce, by its proximity, seeming to intercept the cool air from the mountains, which crown the

interior and middle of the island, and which are covered with wood. The heat varies from 85°, in the morning and evening, to 95°, and even 100°; which, when there is no breeze, is almost insupportable. The *doctor's* friendly visits, however, are seldom denied to the perspiring and panting sons and daughters of the tropics.

The towns in the West Indies are not famed for cleanliness: a better regulated police would probably be attended with good effects in point of health as well as of comfort. — The fever of the country, which is rapid in its course, and often terminates fatally in two or three days — fever and ague in marshy situations — dysentery, and bowel complaints — are the prevailing diseases; from which long residence may diminish, but cannot annihilate the danger. Every new comer must make up his mind to have what is called the seasoning fever: if he escape a year or two, he has a far better chance of surviving; and much will depend on his arriving at the best and healthiest season of the year; viz. about Christmas, and in avoiding all unnecessary exposure to the sun, or being out after sun-set, as nothing is more prejudicial than the night air.

It has often been said and believed, that the mortality is greatly increased by the habits of intoxication of the people, civil as well as military.

My observation and experience lead me to no such conclusion. Though wine and liquors, especially rum, are within the reach of most of them, the inhabitants and garrisons are not more addicted to their immoderate use than are the people of this country. New comers, however, should be much on their guard, as even one excess may bring on fever, and cost them their lives. The empyreumatic oil of *new* rum is exceedingly noxious.

The climate requires more support from generous liquors than a cold one does; and water, unmixed with wine or spirits, is not safe. I have known men who drank only water fall victims, within a month of their arrival; while others, who took their wine freely, stood out the climate well.

In most cases, persons of full habit and florid complexions suffer more from fever than they who are thin and spare.

The produce of the colonies consists of sugar, coffee, cocoa, &c. Sugar is the principal article in most of the old English islands. Dominica used to export 3000 hogsheads of that article, much coffee, and some cocoa; but, from the abandonment of estates in consequence of hurricanes, from low prices, and the inability of the planters to mee the expences of cultivation, I believe the quantities of each have diminished within the last 20 years. The value of all sorts of colonial property

has undergone great changes since the end of the war; and the proposed measures of the British government now render it still more precarious.

The imports are chiefly salt beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland; cottons, cambrics, muslin, cloth, linen, cutlery and hardware, glass and stone-ware, wines, porter, oats, soap and candles, &c. from England; and, from America, flour, lumber, staves, cypress shingles, salt fish, &c. for which the colonists pay in rum and dollars, or government bills.

The expence of living in the colonies is great; every article of European consumption being high priced. House-rent is high; meat and fish are very dear, the former mediocre in quality in many of the islands, the latter excellent. The king-fish, groussa, barracouta, &c. are great delicacies; turtle is cheap and abundant. The land-crabs are also much relished by the West Indians, who dress them in a mode which renders them very delicious. Poultry is dear, but very fine; all sorts of tropical fruits are abundant and reasonable. In Dominica the finest pine-apples cost only 1s. sterling each. Oranges, mangoes, shaddocks, granadilloes, guavas, and melons, are equally cheap and fine. The alligator pear, resembling marrow in taste, is one of the most favorite fruits of the West Indies. Vegetables are plentiful and cheap. Plantains, yams, okras, sweet potatoes, beans and peas, and

even cabbages and cauliflowers, are regularly brought to table. Magnioc, which, made into cakes of cassada, resembles the crisp Scotch cake, is also much used by French families. The juice of this shrub is rank poison, and must be carefully expressed.

The weeds which adorn the mountains or shade the valleys, avenues, roads, and streets of the West Indies, imparting variety and grace to their peculiar features, are too numerous in kind to mention. The palm, orange, sand-box, cocoa-nut, tamarind, mangoe, bamboo, &c. &c. are all natives of Dominica. The palmetto and cocoa-nut trees are strikingly different from all others. The former is remarkable for height, sometimes attaining 100 feet; the latter for their feathered, arrowy branches springing from the top, whilst the lower part of the trunk remains naked and undefended.

The tropical birds are of beautiful plumage, but are *not warblers*. The flamingo (a large bird) and the small humming birds, of which there are many varieties, have the most brilliant colours. Snipes, wood-pigeons, ramies, &c.; and paroquets and monkeys, abound in some of the islands.

The government of Dominica is similar to that of the other islands: it is vested in a Governor, appointed by the King — the House of Assembly, or Commons, and the Council. The members of assembly are chosen to represent the towns and

parishes of the colony, every freeholder having a vote, and being elegible to election, if possessed of a proper qualification. The Assembly chooses its own Speaker. The members of council are recommended by the governor, although appointed by the king. The eldest member is the President; and in case of the Governor's death, or absence, he administers the government, *pro tempore*, having been first duly sworn in, in presence of the two Houses.

The governor is Lord Chancellor, and annually presides as such in the courts. The Chief Judge presides in the Courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench, assisted by two or more assistant judges, or members of council. The Attorney and Solicitor General are the public prosecutors. All these officers have regular fees, formerly large ones, but now reduced, and sanctioned by a commission of inquiry from England. Juries are regularly empannelled for the decision of both civil and criminal cases, and for coroners' inquests. Whites are alone eligible, by the present colonial laws, to sit as jurymen; but the evidence of free coloured or black people is admitted. * The provost marshal

* The colonial courts of justice are liable to many objections; the judges as well as the juries, often having local interests, or prejudices, which, in small communities, it is impossible, perhaps, altogether to prevent. The ap-

takes charge of all delinquents regularly committed; administers the law of election, and is the returning officer. He also puts up to sale all property taken in execution. The registrar keeps the public records of the island: all transfers of property are duly entered in his books; and extracts from them are granted on payment of the regular fees. The colonial secretary is the official agent of communication with the governor, on all affairs of public business. The custom-house establishment is appointed from England, and in case of death, or absence, the governor has the power of nominating a temporary successor.

The inhabitants of the colonies are divided into three separate and distinct classes: whites; free coloured people, and blacks; and the slaves.

The white population may be divided into those who have been born in the West Indies, and are therefore called creoles; and those who have left Europe and settled in the colonies. Creoles are generally sent to England early in life for education; except in Barbados, where the higher ranks only have this advantage; there being, in that colony alone, a very large portion of the white

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pointment of clever, well educated lawyers from England, to preside as chief judges, as in India, would be very beneficial.

population who have never been out of it, and who are truly *Barbadian born* and *bred*.—The creoles are generally handsome, animated, and clever; fond of pleasure and amusement, and not very regular in habits of business. They are good companions, and brave soldiers, but seldom rise to the first ranks in fortune or consideration, except through advantages of birth. This arises more from a deficiency of application and perseverance, than want of ability. They are good and generous masters to their slaves, although, having been born amongst them, and accustomed to command, none are more jealous of their power, or greater sticklers for the *supremacy* of *colour*, on which, indeed, so much depends in the West Indies. The slaves are proud, as *massa himself* is, of belonging to *old* families. Not even in *Scotland* is pride of family a more besetting sin, if *sin* it be, than in the West Indies.

The creoles are fond of all sorts of amusements: horse-racing, cock-fighting, quoit-playing, and dancing; in which they excel, and at which they never tire. During war, many of them enter both the army and navy, and several now hold the ranks of colonel and post captain in the British service.

In Dominica, which was first settled by the Freuch, many of the coffee-planters are still

Frenchmen, or their descendants; speaking the French language, and being French in manners and habits, as also are their slaves, though living in a British colony.

The creole ladies are sent to England, with their brothers, at the early age of five or six, and return when their education is completed. They form, with the European ladies married to civilians and officers, the first female society in the colonies. They are handsome and agreeable, and many of them highly accomplished; consequently, *are in demand,* have plenty of beaux, and soon get married. The climate of the West Indies however, is inimical, not to their health and constitution alone, but to their activity and usefulness. A lady may, indeed, take her morning ride or walk; but, from 7 in the morning, until 5 in the evening, she is shut up at home, and has no company but that of her music, books, and needle. From her necessary intercourse with the female slaves, she also acquires a portion of West Indian manner, which, in England, is deemed far from agreeable.

The West Indian ladies enjoy their *seista* before dinner; and, perhaps from having less active duties to perform than their husbands or brothers, devote a greater portion of their time to the sofa or bed. At dinners, however, and at evening parties or balls, they shine out in all their native loveliness.

The creole women are decidedly the *belles* of the West Indies. The Europeans, it is true, may rival them in accomplishments, and in complexion; but, alas! the climate soon steals away their roses; whilst the symmetry of person, the laughing eyes, and the buoyant spirits of the creoles, with their kind and winning manners, gain all hearts.

The West Indies have long been an outlet to the overflowing population of Britain; which, however, is now seeking other countries, possessing better climates, and holding out higher hopes. In most of the islands, therefore, the proportion of Europeans is equal to, or exceeds, that of the creoles, Barbados excepted. The European settlers generally engross a large share of the mercantile transactions, as well as of the management of the estates; and there are few of any professions or trades, in which the number of Europeans is not considerable. The Scotch and Irish have long been "the children of the world," and follow readily wherever fortune beckons.

To the residents in the English colonies, home is the grand object of all their desires; and the acquisition of fortune to enable them to return thither, is their supreme concern. The French inhabitants, on the contrary, emigrate for life, and seek to enjoy all the luxuries, conveniences, and comforts in their power. Hence, the care dis-

played in fitting up their houses, and in rendering their towns so superior in most respects to those of the English. They are provided with pleasant walks—the streets are shaded with trees, and cooled by streams of water,—the shops and stores resemble those of Europe, and are fitted up in superior style.

The white inhabitants enjoy rank in society, according to their education and intelligence; but, although there are different *circles*, as there are different grades in rank and wealth amongst them, and although some are richer, some poorer, there are few wholly destitute, except in Barbados, where the white population is numerous, and a part of it not famed for industry or sobriety.

Many mechanics and tradesmen resort to the West Indies, where they are generally indented as servants on estates for two or three years, after which they become settlers, or carry on business in the towns. Numbers of young men, some of them well educated, particularly those from Scotland and Ireland, engage as book-keepers, or overseers on estates. If they survive the years of their indenture, and are meritorious, they become managers, when their situations are much improved, and they may rise to rank and opulence. No situation, however, is exposed to greater risk from the climate, than that of a book-keeper or mechanic on an estate; an evil which results from their

constant exposure to sun and rain, and from the fatigues of sugar-making, distilling, &c. which go on under their eye and direction.

The West Indies have never been celebrated as a land of sobriety, or morality; yet my firm belief, and conviction are, that the scenes of vice and immorality, met with in every large town at least, in Britain, will find no counterpart in the colonies. There, it is true, a mistress may be found: having become such, she will be true; and, if she bear a family, she will prove a careful mother: if sickness occur, she is a kind and faithful nurse; and *she never descends lower on the scale.* Can this be said of the same description of people at home?

In Britain, the church establishment is one of the pillars of the state; and it will soon become so in the colonies; for the increase of churches and clergymen of the establishment, now taking place, is the finest feature in the plans of improvement and melioration.

Dr. Johnson well remarked, "that life is too bare of enjoyment, to admit of the *light trappings* of gaiety being stripped off." The West Indians certainly enjoy their happy meetings as much as any people in the world. Their intense delight, especially that of the ladies, is no doubt the consequence of that suppression of spirit, which the cli-

mate and habits of West Indian life produce. The day is passed chiefly within doors, in silence and languor: they have few amusements or domestic cares: a ball, therefore, awakens sensibility; the affections are excited, and the mind and body are inspired with fresh life and vigour.

Active employment, in pursuit of business or pleasure, is the only system that can render life, in the West Indies, either tolerable or safe: the man who passively yields up his soul and body to the enervating dominion of the climate, will soon become its victim.

The inhabitants are a cheerful, social, and happy people. They have not very exalted, or abundant means of enjoyment in their power, it is true, but they make the most of what they have. I do not say that they are satisfied, for their evils are real, and not imaginary. In former times wealth was much more easily accumulated than at present; but even then the path of success was narrow, its summit difficult, and seldom attained. In later years the chance has been far less; and the present state of West Indian affairs renders the prospect daily less inviting. Many Europeans, who have lived for a series of years in the West Indies, feel disappointed on returning to England: they look for many pleasures, and a constant succession of amusements, and agreeable society but they

soon become tired of theatres, sights, and club-rooms; and when they endeavour to settle into quiet life, they find themselves out of their element: the customs of the country are new and strange to them; and they cannot submit to be remoulded, at fifty, as at fifteen. An old West Indian, therefore, who returns home, seldom presents any thing very enviable in his weather-beaten, sun-burnt countenance — for,

"To this complexion we must come at last:"

— nor in his manner or appearance. Even his wealth, if he happen to possess any, may be inadequate to his purposes; for, if he cannot afford to live in the style that he proposed, he will submit to retrenchment with a bad grace. The numbers who complain of disappointment in this respect, are not small. Some find fault with the climate, some with the weight of taxation, some with the illiberality of the people; but the great grievance subsists in the difference of manners and customs to be adopted. Most, however, will ultimately exclaim:—

"England, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

FREE COLOURED PEOPLE AND BLACKS —SLAVES—CUSTOMS, MANNERS, &c.

THE coloured inhabitants—children, or descendants of white fathers, and black or coloured mothers—form now a large and increasing portion of the West Indian population. Part of them are slaves; but the greater number are free. These people vary in their approaches to whiteness of complexion, from the Musteé, who is a handsome brunette, to the swarthy Mulatto, next to the negro in darkness of colour.

The Mustees are a fine race, with little of the woolly hair, thick lip, or flat nose of the negro. Smart in air and manner, though not to be termed clever, they are far from being devoid of ability. The women, when young, are handsome in person, and the men generally stout and active. Some of them are sent to England for education; when they return they are employed at the desk, or in the cultivation of coffee; their colour generally excluding them from the exercise of the learned professions.

Occasionally, however, they practise medicine, or ascend the pulpit, as sectarian preachers.

So long as the distinction of colour is thus strictly maintained, it must be bad policy to send coloured children to England for education. There they enjoy all the privileges of the other inhabitants, and constantly mix with them on an equal footing. On returning to the colonies, they feel acutely their change of situation; and, in consequence, become dissatisfied, and sometimes dangerous inmates of the community.

When instructed in reading and writing, the young men of colour who have learnt trades generally do well. Some, indeed, are indolent in their habits; but two thirds of the master coopers, carpenters, smiths, &c. are of this class, or blacks, and are seldom otherwise than excellent artisans. The tailors, shoemakers, &c. are equally numerous; and, in the English islands, they conduct themselves with great propriety. They are all enrolled, and serve in the militia, under the command of white commissioned officers. In some of the islands, especially in Grenada, they are treated with more consideration than in others; and it is certainly to be wished, that, *without compromising* the superior authority and distinction of the whites, some further improvements could be introduced in their condition. Perhaps they might be allowed

the privilege of sitting as jurymen, and that of voting for members of assembly. They have petitioned for these privileges, and that they may be rendered eligible to sit as members themselves. How far this latter concession would be prudent, I am not prepared to say. Indeed, it is a more nice and difficult question than they who are unacquainted with the colonies can imagine. The coloured people are rather jealous of the dominion of the whites; and the slaves hold the coloured people in contempt: between the two latter there is no cordiality or union.

The coloured women are much employed as house servants. If free, they are hired, and receive good wages. They are excellent sempstresses, cooks, nurses, and ladies' maids; whilst the negro women act as washerwomen, and do all the heavy work. Few of the coloured women receive much education; but, in this respect, there will soon be great improvement. They readily embrace the offers of the whites to live with them, as housekeepers; consider themselves as married; are faithful and attached; and, in the hours of sickness, evince all the kindness and affection of wives or sisters. They are often well married to men of their own colour; and, in a few years, when education and religious instruction shall have

made further progress, they will be found amiable and exemplary in every relation of life.

The rich coloured planters are fond of entertaining the governor, and great "buckras;" but, on such occasions, they never sit at table themselves until asked. In most of the colonies this description of inhabitants is fast increasing in numbers. Many have become possessed of valuable properties by descent; and, having been hitherto loyal and attached subjects, they are well entitled to the protection of both the colonial and British legislatures.

Slaves constitute the great mass of inhabitants of the colonies. In England, so many have been induced, through the misrepresentation of interested parties, to regard these people as the most degraded and most wretched beings on the face of the earth, that it is difficult to produce an opposite conviction on the minds of those who have not themselves crossed the Atlantic, and formed an opinion from personal observation. I must be permitted to add my feeble testimony to that of others, on the favourable side of the question.—Mr. Barclay, in his masterly reply to Mr. Stephen, has shewn, beyond all future controversy, how ill-founded are the assertions and bitter accusations of the latter gentleman against the planters

of Jamaica. He has shewn that the slaves of that once greatest and most valuable colony are in a happy, improving, and flourishing state—that they are making advances in civilization, and in the acquisition of property — that they are receiving religious instruction, and will immediately receive education—and that, whatever may be the prospects of the *masters,* the *slaves* are still happy, and have been subjected to no privations through the unfavourable contingencies of the times.

Like all large associations of men, the negroes, must be kept in due subordination; but, happily, that can be done, (except in instances where they are goaded on to insurrection by the well meaning, but misled, or misinformed enthusiasts, who are really *les enemis,* and not *les amis des noirs,*) without harshness or unnecessary severity. The whites are the *few,* the slaves the *many:* the latter acknowledge the superiority of the former, and yield willing homage and subjection. Yet I do not mean to advocate the system of slavery: it must be condemned by every liberal mind; but it is a system of 200 years' standing—it is the fostered child of Britain—it was *introduced,* and it has been *upheld* and *carried on,* with property vested in it by British acts of parliament, and which cannot now be done away, otherwise than by providing adequate compensation for those who have acquired and suc-

ceeded to that property in as lawful and just a manner as any man in England has acquired and succeeded to his estate. It is well known that in England an estate cannot be incroached on by turnpike roads, canals, or other public works, without an award of due remuneration to the proprietor; nor will it be deemed unjust or unreasonable for the planters to demand the same, on the introduction of a change of system into the colonies which they consider likely to deteriorate and lessen the value of their property.

To return to the state of the slaves. — They are slaves, it is true; yet their lot is very far from being wretched or unhappy. In no country in the world are there stronger or more unequivocal indications of happiness and enjoyment than in the West Indies. Their song is the song of joy; their dance is the dance of hilarity and delight. All they wish for, all that they can enjoy, is in their actual possession. Some of their songs are very quaint, and meant to be jocular — often at the expence of the "buckras," whose names, character, peculiarities, &c. are introduced in succession, and very fairly hit off. I have heard five or six gentlemen thus described by canoe-men, carrying them as passengers, their masters probably of the number. The wags, however, did not venture upon such strains without *orders*. When a song of

this description was called for, they always replied, — "Massa, that your song, me sing him if you bid, no sing him else."

The slave's *own estimate* of freedom is different from that of the European: he thinks it desireable, *solely* that he may be *free from labour*. If you tell him he is still to work, ten to one he replies — What for me want free? Me have good massa, good country too, plenty to eat; me hab clodes; when me sick, massa send doctor, gib me soup, wine; take care of poor nigger when old, too. No! me *no* want free."—And when lately told that Mr. Wilberforce was his friend, and wished to make him free, his reply is related to have been equally strong and equally convincing: — "Me no savey Mr. Wilverforce—he good man—my massa good man, too."

The prospect of intended emancipation—the hope of being thereby released from labour—is of a nature sufficiently powerful to operate ruinously on the minds of the slaves. To prove the correctness of this opinion, I need only advert to the state of Demerara and Jamaica three years ago—to the reports made to Earl Bathurst, on the subject, by the governors of these colonies. In those reports it was distinctly stated, that twelve months after the suppression of the insurrections, the *minds* of the negroes *continued* in a very *unsettled state*.

Can it, then, excite surprise, that even the colonists consider the new regulations for meliorating the condition of the slaves as *premature?* It is the *unfitness of the time* chosen for carrying these regulations into effect, rather than any strong objections to their nature, which renders the planters unwilling to pass them through the colonial legislatures. Prematurely to excite hopes of emancipation, is the *grievous error* committed both by the "*amis des noirs,*" and the British government; and it is for their *temporary* opposition to the proposed measure, that the colonists are threatened with the displeasure of the mother country. Common justice, however, proclaims the indispensable necessity of compensation, previously to emancipation, previously even to the discussion of the subject. *

* The petition of the Jamaica House of Assembly, bearing date December 2, 1826, contains some exceedingly important statements, honourable to the conduct of the colonial legislature, as evincing the tenderest and most philanthropic consideration for the protection, comfort, and happiness of the negroes. After setting forth, in the most respectful language, the sufferings and privations under which the planters in the island of Jamaica have been some time labouring, the petition thus proceeds: —

"The consolidated slave law, passed in 1816, received an unqualified approbation from many of your Majesty's ministers, as containing many salutary and humane provi-

It is not very easy to describe the customs and manners of the negroes. Since the abolition, great improvements have been effected amonst them.

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sions. Since that period, the persons of females have been protected by legal enactments, in conformity with the spirit of the act of Elizabeth: — sentence of death by judicial authority cannot be enforced without the sanction of the governor; manumissions have been encouraged and facilitated; the slave has been exempt from the effect of legal process on Saturday, that he may dispose of the produce of his labour on that day, and devote his Sunday to religious worship; curates, throughout the several parishes of the island, have been appointed for the special purpose of instructing our slave population in the tenets of the Christian faith; fees on baptism and marriage have been abolished; the slave has been made capable of receiving bequests of personal property to any amount.

"These enactments emanated, spontaneously, from the humane and benevolent disposition which has prompted us, from time to time, to revise our slave code; and, in strict conformity with that spirit, we have, during the present session, steadily pursued the same course; and have expunged all those enactments which the policy of a remote period rendered imperative, but which, in the present day, are no longer called for, and appear harsh; and have afforded still greater protection to the slave, by imposing further restrictions on the mode of punishment; and by extending to him, in common with every British subject, the benefit of a grand jury, thereby securing a two-fold investigation before guilt can be affixed to him;

The African customs are fast wearing out: the creole negroes speak English much better than they did; their funerals are now conducted in the day time, and according to European and Christian practice; their houses are better furnished, and they have better holiday clothes than in

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an advantage has also been conferred, which no British subject in the united kingdom enjoys, of having counsel assigned, with liberty to address the jury in behalf of the slave who may be put on his trial for any capital offence; the Sunday market has been abolished after the hour of eleven; marriage among our slaves has been encouraged; and the separation of families, under judicial or other process, has been prohibited; the maintenance of infirm slaves has been enforced; the acquisition of personal property, which has been permitted under the usage of the country, had been sanctioned and secured by law; lastly, to obviate every possible objection that the enemies of our colonial system can urge that ample protection is not afforded by law to our slaves, we have declared them competent to give evidence in criminal cases.

Our slave code, thus rendered as perfect as existing circumstances will admit, contains provisions more favourable to the slave than, perhaps, may be consistent with sound policy. *Here, then, we must pause: — We cannot, consistently with our duties to our constituents, consent to go a step further, without a definite pledge from parliament of ample compensation for any injury which may result from measures recommended by them.*"

former times. The *colonies* now constitute *their country*, more than one half of the slaves being creoles; and, in a few years, the race of native Africans will be extinct. Education and the principles of our divine religion are also making rapid progress, and fitting them for emancipation as they can afford to purchase it, or as it can be purchased for them.

The plantation negroes are provided with good houses, each containing two, some of them four apartments. Their cottages are thatched with leaves of the palmetto tree, or dyed Guinea grass. They have poultry-yards, and gardens railed in; and the latter produce all sorts of tropical fruits and vegetables. They receive allowances of salt fish, or pork, and rum when the weather or work requires it. They are supplied with clothes, cooking utensils, &c., according to their families and station. They are allowed sufficient time — twenty-six full days in the year, besides spare hours—to cultivate their grounds, and to carry their produce to market. Their property is never interfered with; and the manager, should his own pig or goat not be fat, or should he require any for the sick house, never fails to pay for what he obtains at full market price.

On every well regulated estate, the old negroes, and head men, enter into the different operations,

such as planting and cutting of canes, making and shipping of sugar, much more anxiously and zealously than an English ploughman or waggoner will into the work carried on in his master's service. The negroes consider themselves as part of their master's family, and are interested in his prosperity. If more sugar be made, and better prices obtained, it is probable that he will make some addition to their annual allowance—to their comforts and enjoyments. But whether times are good or bad for the proprietor, the supplies for the negroes, sent from England, are always abundant.

The estate negroes work from half an hour after sun-rise, to nearly sun-set, with an hour to breakfast, and two hours to dinner. No sick negro, or pregnant woman, far advanced, is ever asked or expected to work; and although the driver still retains his whip of authority, it is seldom used except for the punishment of serious crimes. The bugle will probably soon supply its place, and the shell, and wand of office, prove sufficient for good government. Some of the negroes are rich enough to purchase their own freedom; but they prefer being slaves, and retaining their houses, gardens, &c. which they know would be no longer their's, were they to become free.

Many of the negroes are now regularly married, and they live comfortably and quietly with

their families. Formerly, numbers of the children died, not from want of care, but from overfeeding; now, most of them are reared, and seen in groups, following the manager or proprietor as soon as they are able to walk. Twenty years ago, there were comparatively few who had been baptized, and there were more French than English negroes: now the case is different, and, hand-in-hand, education, and moral and religious instruction, are rapidly extending their beneficial effects.

Poor-rates are not yet known in the West Indies: it will be well, if in twenty years after the abolition of slavery the same tale can be told. It is also a fact, which shews the good disposition and kindness of the proprietors towards their slaves, that, on arriving from England, their *first visit* is always to the hospital, and to the *old people*. Without making invidious comparisons, I hesitate not to affirm that the landed proprietors in England cannot hold out brighter displays of philanthropy, or shew greater attention to the wants and comforts of their old tenantry and servants. There is a bond of union and attachment — a feeling of protection—a mutual dependance—subsisting between master and slave in the West Indies, stronger than between landlord and tenant, or master and servant, in England.

The slaves employed in the towns are chiefly labourers, tradesmen, boatmen, or domestics. They are either let out for hire by their owners at so much a week, receiving a weekly allowance for their own maintenance, or they are permitted to engage themselves, and to pay their owners a weekly or monthly sum, appropriating their extra gains themselves. Many of them, with ease, not only pay this weekly sum to their masters, but save sufficient to purchase their freedom. It is not unusual for the town negroes, and also those of the plantations, to lodge their savings in their masters' hands; or if they have them lodged elsewhere, to offer to lend them to their owners. In numerous instances, the negro tradesmen are rarely seen by their masters, except when they come to pay their money, or to ask favours of Massa. In the former case they generally obtain a present; in the latter, the boon is seldom refused. The wages of mechanics and boatmen are high in the colonies, and labourers are mostly in full employment. The town slaves are resident in their masters' negro yards, every house having detached dwellings for their accommodation.

Many negroes are employed as hucksters, or salesmen and women. In most instances, these are the slaves of free blacks, or coloured people; and, generally, they are the most miserable and

wretched of their class. They are much in the habit of applying to white people to buy them, and to emancipate them from the *bonds* of their *sable* brethren.—The hucksters are furnished by their masters or mistresses with baskets or trays, containing various articles of traffic, such as crockery or glass ware, finery for the ladies, jewellery, fruit, pickles, sweetmeats, cakes, &c. All these are counted over, and priced; and the unfortunate vendor, if guilty of mistakes, or of not selling fast enough, is certain of being abused, perhaps punished; for the tongue of a free black, or mulatto woman, is not much behind that of an English Billingsgate. From being constantly in their presence, the household slaves of these people are still worse off. Every person who has been in the West Indies knows how prone free blacks are to use the whip, and how often the justices are obliged to inflict fines and penalties on them, for brutal treatment of their unhappy slaves. Fortunately, since the abolition, the negroes are more in the hands of proprietors of estates.

The appointment lately made of *a guardian of the slaves, in Demerara,* is a wise and necessary measure; but it will be found that the complaints made to that officer will be against free people of their own colour, far more frequently than against whites.

Negroes are subject to few diseases: dysentery, and pneumonia are the most common; and the measles sometimes occasions great mortality. Small-pox, and whooping-cough, are not troublesome: vaccination has lessened the virulence of the former. *Mal de stomac*, or dirt-eating, formerly a frequent disease of newly imported Africans, is now disappearing. The Africans are naturally superstitious; and consequently, from its mischievous effects, the practice of Obi, or spells, was an offence rendered punishable with death. It is astonishing what numbers actually died from being spell-bound, or under the influence of Obi, people who, they thought, had *caught their shadow*, and been thereby enabled to cause their death at pleasure. All the islands suffered grievous losses of negroes from this source, before it had been discovered or checked, the Obi people tried and executed, and health and content restored. The odious practice is now nearly unknown. *

* "I was present some years ago at the trial of a notorious obeah-man, driver on an estate in the parish of St. David, who, by the overwhelming influence he had acquired over the minds of his deluded victims, and the more potent means he had at command to accomplish his ends, had done great injury among the slaves on the property before it was discovered. One of the witnesses, a negro belonging to the same estate, was asked, 'Do you

know the prisoner at the bar to be an obeah-man?' '*Ees, massa, shadow catcher, true.*'—What do you mean by shadow-catcher?' '*Him ha coffin*, (a little coffin produced,) *him set for catch dem shadow.*'—'What shadow do you mean?' '*When he set obeah for summary* (somebody), *him catch dem shadow, and dem go dead;*' and too surely they were soon dead, when he pretended to have caught their shadows, (by whatever means it was effected). Two other causes, besides the law, have contributed to make this now a crime of much less frequent occurrence: the influence of Christianity, and the end put by the abolition, to the importation of more African superstition."—*Vide* BARCLAY'S *Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies*, &c.—It would be curious, were it possible, to trace to a common source the superstitious belief in *shadow-catching*, entertained in Africa and the West Indies, and that formerly held in Germany on the same subject.

IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE SLAVES —EMANCIPATION—DANGERS OF PRECIPITATION.

THE negroes are naturally loquacious; and, for a time, the noise and clamour of a West India market sound strangely to a European ear. Generally the slaves are highly good humoured, though occasionally their anger is sudden and furious. They are indolent, but have much curiosity, some turn for mimicry, and are remarkably kind and attached to each other, as well as to their masters and their families, of which they consider themselves as members. Their salute is particularly bland,—"How do, mississ?"—"God bless you, massa."

When the relative state of the master and slave is properly considered, it will be seen that this race of men are not the wretched creatures they are believed to be. A West Indian proprietor does *not* receive their labour, as has been so often asserted, *without wages:* he allots a large portion of his estate to support his labourers; gives them houses

to live in, and time to cultivate their grounds; provides them with salt provisions, clothes, and medicine; and supports them in old age. Are not these advantages equal — superior, even — to the wages of a European labourer, which depend on his health and on the demand for his work? The advantages of the negro are *certain*; those of the European labourer are only *contingent*.

Sugar is the staple produce in the colonies, raised by the skill and capital of the whites and the labour of the blacks. From this source, the slaves are provided for. If sugar cease to be raised (and its successful culture by the labour of *free* blacks is contrary to all former experience) the fountain of comfort, of prosperity, and of happiness, must be cut off from the slaves, as well as from their masters.

A free-born Englishman holds freedom, and justly holds it, as superior to all other gifts: to him it is an object of paramount importance, and every other blessing is without value, if that be denied; but to the negro, born and bred up in slavery, who considers *labour* the *only* evil, and *idleness* the *only* bliss, freedom has no such charms. West Indian slaves do not understand how freedom should be a blessing, attended, as they see it is, in the case of British sailors, by severe and abject toil. On the other hand, the negroes have

learned to estimate their own comforts and advantages, though the enthusiasts and abolitionists *have not*. Here again, in the discussion of this matter, exists an error of the most fatal kind. At present emancipation means, in the apprehension of the negro, *a freedom from labour, which he would like to have;* amongst the enthusiasts in their cause, emancipation is associated with the idea of *industry* and *activity*. However, until the negroes are *changed*, and so improved by education and religious instruction, as to be capable of comprehending and valuing freedom on *just* grounds, it is evidently premature to enter on the discussion of this question — a question of the greatest delicacy, and likely, above all others, to mislead the slaves, and induce them to attempt obtaining, *now* and *by force*, what, for their own sakes, putting their masters' interest and welfare aside, cannot be accomplished, but through time and civilization. Much has been said, and much has been written, on the necessity for meliorating and improving the condition of the slaves in the West Indies; and the British government has pledged itself to see the regulations proposed for that purpose carried into effect, with a view to their future emancipation, consistently with due regard to the vested rights and properties of the colonists. Previously to entering upon a consideration of the Resolutions of

Parliament, I would recapitulate some of the meliorations and improvements which have been already carried into effect in the different colonies; as in my opinion they evince a disposition in the colonists to *precede*, or go hand in hand with government, if left to themselves, and not *driven* by Mr Buxton's *cart whip*—if not *retarded* and *prevented* by the *unceasing* clamours of the enthusiasts, who "make the world ring with complaints of slavery, and have become the petty tyrants of public opinion," though destitute of that *practical* knowledge, the possession of which is absolutely necessary, in forming a correct estimate of *practical slavery*, as it *now* exists.

That the *system* of slavery is bad, all are agreed; that it can be done away *suddenly*, or without *much consideration* and *caution*, no man who knows the West Indies will affirm to be practicable; unless, indeed, it be at once determined to abandon our colonies, and all the capital therein vested — to surrender them, as the French surrendered St. Domingo, to the dominion of the slaves. What was the consequence? Converted at one step from slaves into free men, the first business of the deluded Africans was to expel or destroy their former masters, who, until then, had easily maintained their superiority, and had raised that once flourishing colony to the highest pitch of cultiva-

tion. No sooner had the French lost, by their own folly and madness, this brightest jewel in the French crown,—"this queen of islands,"—than they saw their error—an irretrievable one,—and vainly sought to repair it; sacrificing thousands on thousands of the conquerors of Italy on the shores of St. Domingo. What is that island now?—no longer a garden, no longer a cultivated colony. Not a hogshead of sugar is exported from it, and only half the former quantity of coffee. In former times, the sugar alone exported to France was worth two millions sterling. Alas, what a falling off! And the *free* cultivators, are they *really* free? They are ordered to the field by the military commandants, and punished by them on complaint of their employers. They are entirely devoid of education and of religion; and though more than twenty years have elapsed since St. Domingo shook off the yoke of France, cultivation has continued to decline, civilization has retrograded, the condition of the negroes has become much worse; and the aspect of affairs is *so* forbidding, that black and coloured emigrants from the United States of America returned to those states, in despair of meeting with a resting place in St. Domingo!

If Great Britain take not the warning given by this baneful and bloody sacrifice at the shrine of

freedom — freedom bestowed without consideration, and precipitated by merciless men (*enthusiasts also*);—if neither the example of St. Domingo, nor our useless and unsuccessful experiments of free labour, made for years and *still persevered in*, at Berbice, Antigua, and Sierra Leone,* at much expence and waste of life, avail, I can only say:—

"Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat."

But let us hope better things; and that, instead of hurry and precipitation, grave consideration and time will be allowed to allay the animosities, dispel the fears, and satisfy the doubts of the planters, and also of the government, on this important question; and to meliorate, improve, educate and instruct the negroes, before even *proposing to them* the last and great object—emancipation. Howsoever much this may be deemed *over caution* HERE, NO COLONIST so considers it. But it is desireable to abstain from discussion, on other grounds; viz. the absence hitherto of all assurance respecting the mode of compensation for loss of property.

To return to the improvements *already* carried into effect. In the island of Jamaica, containing

* This grave of thousands of white men, so mercilessly sent, and so certainly sacrificed, in this *experimental dépôt* for *free labourers, who do nothing*, and who now amount to 14,000, costing the country enormous sums of money, is at last to be abandoned: so at least it is said and hoped.

nearly one half of the slave population of the colonies, it has been enacted — "That one day in every fortnight shall be given up to the slaves (besides Sundays) to cultivate their grounds, dispose of the produce, &c. &c. The punishment of putting weights or collars on slaves is abolished, and also of working malefactors in chains."—"The punishment of slaves is limited to ten stripes, unless the overseer be present, and on no occasion to exceed thirty-nine." Cruelly using, or whipping, subject to heavy fine and imprisonment. "The property of every owner is made liable to provide for his slaves, both in health and sickness." "Females having six children are exempted from hard labour in the field, or otherwise, and the owner from taxes, on account of them." "Slaves allowed to assemble at all times for amusement when off work, provided they disperse before ten at night." "Magistrates, upon complaint by the slave, that he has been improperly punished, are to enquire summarily into the case, and if true, to proceed against the offender." "Curates, with a salary of £300 *per annum* each, are appointed for each parish, who, together with the rector, are required to assist in propagating Christianity among the slaves. "In the execution of slaves, it is enacted, that in all cases, the sentence, the evidence, and the charge, shall be transmitted to the Governor;

and his sign manual be requisite, as in the case of whites."

Similar improvements have been introduced into the slave codes of the other colonies; and even since the resolutions passed by the British Parliament, considerable advances have been made. In Demerara, the Court of Policy has adopted the whole body of regulations relating to melioration, framed by the government of this country, for the management of Trinidad, and promulgated in an Order in Council. Their proceedings are pronounced by Lord Bathurst to have done them "much honor," and to have earned "His Majesty's approbation for their zeal, and the assiduity manifested in giving effect to his royal intentions, and the wishes of Parliament in favor of the slave population."

"In Barbados it has been provided, that slaves, committing any capital crimes, shall be tried by three justices, and twelve freeholders of the parish upon oath, and that when prosecuted by his master as a criminal, the slave shall have the assistance of a solicitor." That the wilful murderer of a slave shall suffer death, without the benefit of clergy. "That no other instrument be employed in whipping than such as is used in His Majesty's army and navy."

In St. Vincent's it has been provided, that Sun-

day markets be over by ten in the morning. That a record book be kept of offences, and of all punishments exceeding ten stripes, which book shall be forthcoming to magistrates, under a penalty of 20*l.* That the driver be prohibited from carrying a whip in the field, under a penalty, as for misdemeanor. That slave evidence, under the restrictions defined by Lord Bathurst, be admitted.—That manumissions shall be recorded, and the fees limited to it. That in certain cases, no slave shall be sold separately from the estate.

In St. Kitt's, slave evidence has been recognized as legal, and punishment, generally, mitigated.

In Grenada, slave evidence has been placed on the same footing as that of the whites, and punishment, generally, mitigated.

In Tobago, punishment, above twelve stripes, is to be administered in presence of free persons, independent of the person ordering. Drivers not permitted to punish.—Slave evidence admitted, and guardians of the slaves appointed.

In Dominica, slave evidence in certain cases is admitted. Public whipping of women is abolished, and private correction and imprisonment substituted. Reputed husband and wife are not to be separated, nor children from parents, under fifteen years of age. Married mothers of six children, to have two days,—and of four, one day in the week to themselves.

In the Bahamas, most of the provisions regulating labour, and guarding against the separation of families, had been effected by former enactments.

All parties in Parliament agreed, that moral and religious instruction was the primary step to promote effectual improvement in the negro population. Accordingly, no time was lost by Government, in sending out proper persons, to undertake this very meritorious and important charge; and the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, in a dispatch to Lord Bathurst, dated March 12, 1825 says:—"I am happy in being able to assure your Lordship, that a very general wish to *meliorate* the condition of the slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of religion, and of the established church, seems to pervade the great mass of proprietors, and every facility is afforded me of visiting the several plantations." *

The Bishop of Barbados, on his return to England, for a short time, in the year 1826, reports—"That so far from coming back discouraged by unexpected impediments, he feels, that great as are the real difficulties, and distant as must be the full harvest of his labours, the prospect before him is *full of encouragement;* in *every* class of people

* *Vide* Papers presented to Parliament, in 1825.

he has found that spirit of respect for his person, office, and object—that zeal, liberality, and concession to his desires, which justify the liveliest, if not impatient hopes; and in no instance has he experienced that kind of prejudice, or that degree of opposition, which should make him despair of ultimate success."*

Here we see, at the very outset of an institution, entirely new in the Colonies, how well and kindly it has been received by all ranks and classes of men. We find gentlemen, of high moral character, leaving an atmosphere *replete with prejudice against the West Indian Society*—prepared, probably, to find their prejudices more than confirmed—we find such men, on the authority of their sacred calling, giving unequivocal testimony to the zeal and liberality displayed by the colonists, in aid of the most important of all the steps to melioration. Lord Bathurst's testimony, given in his place in the House of Lords, on the 7th of March, 1826, founded on sources the most authentic and disinterested, is no less worthy of notice, as it relates to Jamaica, our chief colony, and pre-eminently the object of attack by the anti-colonial party. His Lordship says:—"I must observe, in justice to the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica, that it has

* Quarterly Review, No. 64, p. 341.

far surpassed any expectation which I had previously formed, and that from its conduct in *that* instance, I cherish the strongest hopes of further improvement. The Assembly has invested the Bishop sent to that island, especially with a view of bettering the condition of the slave population, with every power requisite for the due exercise of his authority. — It has added considerably to the stipends of the rectors, and made the receipt of them independent of the vestry. Your Lordships will be aware of the great improvement which this last measure must eventually introduce, when I inform you, that as the law formerly stood, these stipends could not be received, without the production of a certificate from the vestry. — That certificate now emanates from the Bishop, who is *sole* judge of the manner in which the duties have been performed. Parishes have also been enabled to raise funds, for building of, and enlarging churches, and also for the erection of schools — powers which I have every reason to believe will not be abused. I know that many respectable individuals in Jamaica, and proprietors of estates in that island, in Dominica, and other colonies, have subscribed considerable sums, in aid of these benevolent objects, and I doubt not that their exertions will be ultimately crowned with ap-

propriate and gratifying rewards, in the improvement of every class of the population."

Such is the approbation bestowed by the Bishops, and by the noble Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the disposition shewn by the West India proprietors in regard to that portion of the new regulations, most insisted on by the community in England.

The foregoing details exhibit, it may be imagined, a sufficiently ample specimen of legislation, accomplished within two seasons; more especially when it is recollected, that these sessions of the Colonial Legislatures were held immediately after the suppression of rebellion amongst the slaves, both in Jamaica and Demerara, which there is no doubt originated in the agitation and discussion of these subjects in the British Parliament, too strongly aided by the operations of the anti-colonists actively carried on, in the Colonies, and also in this country.*

It is unhappily true, that much irritation still prevails; an irritation that is entirely owing to the want of candour, and the inveterate rancour, which are displayed by those who audaciously thrust themselves forward under the guise of philanthropy,

* By the Speeches and Proceedings at Anti-Slavery Meetings, the distribution of Tracts and Pamphlets, &c.

but whose operations, blending abuse with insufferable dictation, instead of advancing the interests of humanity, are calculated only to impede them. If it be said, that this is *not* the case — hear the words of the Lord Chancellor Eldon, uttered from the woolsack, so recently as March, 1827. They are expressive of sentiments, replete with truth, sound sense, justice, and humanity — of a knowledge of the subject — of a respect for vested interests; all showing, that howsoever *other* friends of humanity may forget that there are *two* parties concerned, *this great man has not forgotten it.*

"I cannot help saying," observed his Lordship, "that while I feel most anxious, in common with your Lordships, for the melioration of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, and for the entire abolition of slavery, whenever that abolition can be accomplished, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the *well being of the slaves themselves — with the safety of the colonies* — and with a *fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property;* — yet, my Lords, my fixed opinion is, *that these great and desirable objects have been more retarded by the intemperate zeal of those who have been the advocates of such measures, than it had, or could be, by any direct opposition on the part of those who have opposed them.*"

If the highest functionaries in office feel themselves called on to express their sentiments thus

strongly, can it be doubted, that the anti-colonial party are really the men who retard improvement, who prevent the adoption, in all its parts, of the proposed system of melioration, the principal opposition to which applies more to the intended *time* of its reception, than to any actual indisposition towards the measure itself. The colonists cannot submit to be precipitated, dragooned, and bullied, by the enthusiasts, into measures, which, howsoever desirable, they fear, and feel it imprudent to adopt, so immediately after the insurrections, which, though soon forgotten, and lightly regarded by men who have *no* interests at stake, and live on this side of the Atlantic, must naturally be estimated *very differently* by residents in the Colonies.

It was in the Session of 1823, that the following *Resolutions*, respecting the system of melioration proposed by Government for the adoption of the Colonial Legislatures, were agreed to by the House of Commons:—

"*Resolved*, 1st. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures, for meliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's Colonies.

"*Resolved*, 2d. That through a determined, and persevering, but at the same time, judicious, and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement

in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

"*Resolved*, 3d. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

Never has the proposed system of melioration —a system which has since been almost universally adopted and acted upon in the Colonies— been stated so clearly, or so ably, as by Mr. Secretary Canning—that eminent and highly gifted statesman, of whose invaluable services the country has been recently deprived by the stroke of death—in his speech, of the following session, after he had moved for the reading of the above *Resolutions*, that their text and meaning might, as he said, be present to the minds of honourable members. That memorable speech I should here transcribe, were it not for its length, and that its essence may be traced in effect through the numerous salutary regulations which I have quoted, as now acting upon in the respective West India Colonies of Britain. The closing passage, however, is too admirable to be omitted.

"In the ebullitions of temper, observable in the West Indian Assemblies," remarked the Honourable Secretary, "I see *much to condemn, much to excuse, and nothing to punish. (Hear, hear.)* If indeed, there was any thing like a parity of strength, between Parliament and the Colonies, as in a former unfortunate instance, this legislature might be roused to a feeling of exasperated majesty, and threaten vengeance in Jamaica.—There is, however, surely no occasion for any such course.—There are three possible modes in which we may deal with the Colonies:—1st. Force—we may crush them. —2ndly, Means of coercion, by fiscal regulations and laws affecting navigation.—3rdly, The slow and silent course of admonition and example. *(Hear, hear.)* I am certainly disposed to try the *last, first.* I hope we shall never be driven to have recourse to the *second;* and I am sure that nothing but a *real,* and not a constructive necessity, shall ever induce me to have recourse to the *first.* Being much more desirous of putting gentlemen in possession of the principles on which Government have acted, and of the plans they have pursued in furtherance of these principles, than of serving any doubtful purpose, by exciting angry feelings, I shall abstain entirely from any general reflections, upon the whole of this interesting and painful subject. It is interesting and painful on the

one hand, because it involves the happiness of so many of our fellow-creatures, whose situation we cannot contemplate, without regret—but full of hope and expectation on the other,—inasmuch, as we know, that the sense of Parliament, and of the country, has been awakened to the evil, and is determined as soon as possible and expedient, to remedy it; not with *injurious and indiscreet haste, but with a temperate and well considered disposition to remove a practical defect.*"

This eloquent address reminds us of Thomson's beautiful lines:—

> "Let us
> Act with cool prudence, and with manly temper,
> As well as manly firmness.—
> 'Tis Godlike magnanimity to keep,
> When most provoked, our reason calm and clear,
> And execute her will—from a strong sense
> Of what is right—without the vulgar aid
> Of heat, and passion, which, though honest, bear us
> Often too far."

Notwithstanding the heavy loss which the country has sustained, in the death of Mr. Canning, there is ground for hope, that that great man's political views, both foreign and domestic, will be followed up by his successors in office; and that thus, as in the case of his illustrious predecessor, Pitt, the spirit of the departed may animate the councils of Britain.

EMANCIPATION AND MELIORATION.

It remains to be inquired, what advances have been made in the new system, since the year 1824, when these views of Government were explained to the House of Commons, and to the whole British empire; and whether the Colonial Legislatures are acting wisely, or the reverse, in delaying to comply with the admonitions and example held out to them. It will be also necessary to consider the effect, which the constant interference of the anti-colonial party produces on the temper and decisions of the West Indian legislatures.—In examining these questions, it shall be the endeavour of the writer, to conclude his remarks without giving offence to *any party* concerned; but also, without allowing the fear of offending to prevent him from expressing his opinions, fully and directly, on matters, the importance of which cannot be overrated, whether as embracing the good of mankind, the value of our colonies, or the *risk* of losing them.

There is, I believe, only one opinion, in this

country and in the colonies, respecting the adoption of the system proposed, and now in operation in the ceded colonies. On *particular points* there may be a diversity of sentiment, and the Colonists may have greater hesitation in *acceding to them* than Government in proposing, or Parliament in sanctioning them; but, as already observed, it appears, that the objections raised by practical men in the West Indies, have reference *more to time and security, than to system;* and that, if *time* be granted, every objection will gradually disappear.

In all the islands, the enlarged religious establishments have been received in the best spirit, and hailed with acclamations and feelings of delight by all ranks and classes of men.—Churches and schools, clergymen and teachers, will in a few years effect the most wonderful and beneficial changes on the mind and condition of the slaves, and qualify them, in due time, for enjoying the blessings of emancipation and rational freedom.—Religious instruction is the first, the foundation-stone, of this new and intellectual edifice: on this the whole fabric must be raised; and it is well to know that the scheme is respected and cherished as cordially by the masters, as it is by the slaves.

The propriety of admitting slave evidence, and of granting to the slaves the right of purchasing their own and their children's freedom, are the

chief, perhaps the only points, on which any serious difference of opinion exists in the Colonies. My own opinion, formed from an intimate acquaintance with West Indian affairs, and from as intimate a knowledge of the negro character, is decidedly in favour of the proposed alterations of the law, on both of these points; not *hastily*, or *summarily*, but after time shall have been afforded for observing the effects produced in the ceded colonies. In Trinidad, and St. Lucia, the law, in its altered state, has been some time in force; and recently, orders have been issued for it to be executed in Demerara, where the disturbances, lately quelled, would have rendered its earlier adoption premature.

It is to be regretted — much indeed it is to be regretted — that the operations of the anti-colonists should constantly interfere with the decisions of the Colonial Legislatures, which are deeply impressed with the conviction, that their opponents, safe, and at a distance from the sleeping volcano, over which the Colonists have to tread, and over which it becomes them to tread *warily*, are pursuing their own ends, utterly regardless of consequences to the West Indian interests. It is natural — it is imperatively necessary — that the Colonists should *look before they leap.*

It is true, that an indisposition has been shewn by the Colonial Legislatures, to alter the slave code

in *all* the points recommended by the Order in Council. They have acceded to some; but they have requested delay, and time for farther experience, before adopting *the whole*.

Were any man to ask me, whether I think the Colonies have acted wrong, in refusing to introduce the new system at once, and as promptly as the Government and the anti-colonists require, I should distinctly tell him — that their *caution* is founded on wise, practical, and sound principles of action, and in strict accordance with Mr. Secretary Canning's views. Mr. Canning, it should never be forgotten, introduced the new system into the ceded islands, *as an experiment and example* to the old; declaring, that *time* was required, to get rid of an evil which centuries had matured, and which could not be safely removed, *but by time*, and its judicious improvements. The Colonists believe, the *fit time* for introducing changes of system is not immediately after a season of insubordination; especially as they have to deal with a negro population, yet uncivilized, and which had so recently evinced a disposition to take their freedom by force. They also believe, that the anti-colonial party, utterly regardless of their interests, their properties, and their lives, are pursuing, with unwearied zeal, with perhaps well-meant, but certainly mistaken enthusiasm, their purpose of giving free-

dom to the slaves, without regard to time, circumstances, or any personal or pecuniary sacrifice. The anti-colonists have denounced the West Indians as cruel and oppressive, and as maintaining a system of bondage, contrary to the laws of God and man; and they are anxious only, to overturn that system — *let the consequences be what they may to the Colonies and to the country.* Session after session, they renew their attacks, reiterate their charges, pray for melioration, immediate and extensive; and carry with them the voice of the country, ever ready to listen to the tale of pity, and also that of the British Government, which now *calls* on the old Colonies to proceed to act on the principles of melioration introduced by the Orders in Council into the ceded Colonies, and which have now been matter of *experiment,* in two of them for three years, and in Demerara for one!

I am by no means prepared to say, that any dangerous or pernicious effects have yet been the result of this experiment. Memorials and representations have, I believe, been forwarded to Government; but I am induced to consider that those documents rather express *opinions* than report *effects.* In the course of a few years, the experiment will probably have been sufficiently tried, to make it the duty, as well as the interest of the *old* Colonies, to adopt the new system — to carry it

into effect — and cordially to act on its provisions; calculated, as I trust they will be, with sufficient guards, to promote the happiness and welfare of the slave, and not to diminish the security of the lives, or the value of property of the Colonists.

The West Indians are accused of having prejudices insurmountably strong. Admitting that they have prejudices, I would ask — where are the men who have them not? and, where property is concerned, who can be without warm feelings, and perhaps high prejudices also? — Should the English farmer be told, that a new mode of husbandry was about to be introduced by the manufacturers, and that they were required to adopt it, without any practical trial, or without time being allowed for experiment — would they, or could they, be expected to enter into the new measure so fully and readily, as after the requisite test? The case of the West Indians is strictly analogous. The Orders in Council were framed, no doubt, after much communication, with *all* parties, and after receiving as much advice and information as could be obtained, without possessing an actual knowledge of the West Indies. The anti-colonists were altogether without this practical knowledge; and *they* also had *strong prejudices* and antipathies. The West Indian body, in London, had experience, but it was not the experience of yesterday; and

Ministers had only their good sense, and good feelings, with a desire to do good, and to remove a great evil, to guide them. Yet, they were well guided; and, had no insubordination occurred in the Colonies, their task would have been comparatively easy. The insurrectionary spirit displayed by the negroes greatly increased the apprehensions of the Colonial Legislatures, and their indisposition to proceed in the alteration of the slave codes, until some years of tranquillity should have elapsed. Did not Mr. Canning expressly say—"We must proceed *gradually* and *cautiously*?"—He also said, and most truly said, that—"the House would do well to recollect what prodigious ruin one unguarded expression, dropped in the heat of debate, might occasion to those whom we would not willingly injure; while it was at the same time clear, that the most ardent and enthusiastic eloquence *could not hasten the enjoyment of freedom* by those, who were not yet in a condition to receive the boon."

The conduct of the planters and colonists, in improving the condition of the slaves, even since the Order in Council, has been approved by Lord Bathurst, whose acquaintance with Colonial affairs gives his opinions great weight, and whose integrity and good feeling ought to secure to him the confidence of the Colonists, and of the country. In

addressing the Governor of the Bahamas, he says—"The Legislature of the Bahamas have evinced their anxiety for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, by their late Act for amending and consolidating the Slave Laws, which *it is impossible not to view*, as comprising many humane and judicious enactments, materially contributing to such improvement." To the Governor of Grenada—after observing, that the Legislature had not gone to the full length of the recommendation—his Lordship observes—"The provisions are all of a beneficial nature, as far as they go, and contain nothing that can stand in the way of confirmation; where the enactments are deficient, either in defining, or securing their object, there is a manifest good intention, which assures me that these inadvertencies will be readily corrected." His Lordship's answers to the Governors of Demerara, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent's, are also most satisfactory, and shew that no refractory or unpleasant feelings subsisted between the Colonial Secretary of State and the Legislatures.—Mr. Wilmot Horton, the under-Secretary for the Colonies, in his speech on the 19th of May last, used the following strong and expressive language on the same subject:—"I would appeal to the House, and to the country, whether other motives, beyond those of obstinacy and resistance, might not be discover-

ed for the conduct of the Colonial Legislatures. I would ask, whether any man can avoid remarking, that they have been retarded in their legislation, by the impression, that the measures which this House has recommended will be fatal to their interests as proprietors? Whether that opinion on their part be correct or not, is not now the question; but I think it will be in my power sufficiently to substantiate the opinion that I have expressed, and to shew, that the *main* source of the opposition, on the part of the West Indian proprietors, is the belief, that the measures of this House tend to *depreciate*, if not to *destroy* their property. This is the impression which has really influenced them, and nothing can be more erroneous, than to contend that they are actuated in their present indisposition to adopt the recommendations made to them, by an abstract love of slavery, or by a disinclination to better the condition of their slaves. I do not mean to argue, that in a society where slavery has long existed, a feeling of the necessity of slavery may not, in some measure, operate; but I repeat, that the opposition of the proprietors has been mainly founded on the conviction, that the humane measures recommended by the Government and by the Houses, would necessarily lead to the destruction of their property. The West Indians have also been goaded on in their opposi-

tion to the measures recommended by Government, by the nature and tenor of many of these meetings, from which petitions have emanated, and been so *prodigally* presented to this House."—He further proceeds to say—"that His Majesty's government are determined to carry into effect the emancipation of the slaves, through the compulsory manumission clause, on payment of the estimated value of each slave so manumitted. Every person who has resided in the West Indies must be aware, that as long as estates are possessed by whites, and sugar is cultivated upon them, compulsory labour, or slave labour, must be employed; and the proprietors are therefore afraid, that as this regulation allows of the slave obtaining his freedom without any security for his continuing to labour even for hire, they may in this manner be deprived of the necessary quantity* of labour, to enable

* A planter has—say, 250 slaves.—Half of these are probably old, or very young, women bearing children, &c. The effectives are—say 120. If half of these purchase their freedom, and remove, or go off labour, what is the consequence to the planter? He can no longer make the same crop, and the residue are not of the same value.—This man's property is deteriorated greatly; and this is likely in many cases to happen, and this is the apprehension generally entertained by the planters, and certainly requires to be provided for; but it is not the only difficulty which emancipation presents.

them to receive due and adequate returns from their estates; and it has been proposed to adopt the following provisions to protect their interests. —1st. That the slave, having purchased his freedom, should be bound apprentice to his master for seven years, receiving wages, to be fixed by law—subject to be punished by the *magistrates* for any neglect of duty. 2ndly, That he should, after that period, be bound to engage himself annually, for wages to be fixed by law, for twelve months, until he reached the age of forty:—when he could shew that he had saved a sum sufficient to support him for life, he should be freed from any compulsory labour."

On this question, which is the most difficult to settle of any relating to the new system, I confess that I hold somewhat different sentiments. The impression on my mind is, that when manumission shall have proceeded a certain length, there will be as great a difficulty in *paying* the wages *of labour*, as in *finding labourers*. —A proprietor of a West Indian estate may be able to afford to pay the wages of 50 free labourers; but if he have to pay 200, or 300, he is pressed beyond his strength; excepting, indeed, the scale of wages should be reduced below what has ever been customary, or could ever be practicable, in the West Indies.

It appears to me, however, that these are by no means the only views to be taken of this subject. I apprehend there is another evil, and one which is just as likely to happen: viz. the *diminution* of *numbers required* for the cultivation of West Indian estates, by the introduction of the plough, the steam-engine, and other means of reducing the amount of human labour. The questions would *then be*—what was to become of the manumitted negroes? How were they to be disposed of and employed?—Being labourers, and cultivators of the soil, their freedom would be of no value, should the means of subsistence by their accustomed labour be denied. This impression is rendered the stronger, by my conviction, that it will henceforth be for the interest of the West Indian proprietors, to embrace every plan which may tend to diminish the amount of slave labour, or of free labour, required in the colonies; knowing, as they do, that they have no means of supplying the place of manumitted negroes, except by paying such sums, in wages, as the returns from their properties will not bear; and knowing, too, that every slave, on raising the means, has the power of becoming free.

Here we should have a *surplus free population*, accustomed only to cultivation, and the bulk of it likely to be *out* of employment, even if disposed

to labour; an evil which would immediately be felt as one pregnant with the most serious consequences to the colonists, and to the crown. To *avoid*, or *provide* against, all these consequences is, perhaps, impossible; and I imagine that the best *safeguard* will be, the *gradual* extension of manumission and freedom, allowing one set of emancipated negroes to be settled and provided for, perhaps as farmers or cultivators, and paying rents, before the others shall be ready to purchase their *freedom*.

Yet even here there are difficulties and obstacles not easily to be overcome. Granting that the manumitted negroes were allowed to retain their houses and gardens, and to rent ground; it would still be most desireable that they should be cultivators of the sugar-cane, as well as of plantains and yams, and that the staple commodity of the colonies, from which all their value is derived, should be produced as formerly. No doubt the free negroes, if disposed to be industrious (which is a doubtful point) can raise the sugar-cane, on their fields; but then, a sugar-mill, and all its appurtenances, are required; and unless the proprietor let out his mill and works, as sometimes occurs in England, and thus afford a facility to the free cultivators, I do not see how the *ulterior* part of the new system can be carried into effect. But

should education and religious instruction produce the advantages and good effects expected, in civilizing and improving the negroes, and rendering them industrious, then the course would be more clear, and the proprietors of West Indian estates would have only one thing to look forward to, when manumission should have reached a certain point:— viz. to lease out their properties, in small or large portions, according to circumstances — according as the number of slaves still remaining should enable them to retain much or little in their own hands.

I am aware how strong are the prejudices of West Indians against the practicability of West Indian cultivation by *free labour*; and I willingly allow that it is an *experiment*, the result of which time alone can determine; but, in reasoning against it *now*, we act only under the idea of what is to be expected from *uneducated* and *uncivilized* negroes, as was the case in St. Domingo, and not from men improved and instructed, as it is intended that the slaves shall be in the British colonies.—On a dispassionate view of the subject — howsoever strong and natural may be the objections of the colonists to such an idea — the only ground upon which I can rest a hope for the salvation of the colonies — for rendering them still valuable to Britain, after fully recognizing the scheme of emancipation, is

that of allowing *the freed negroes to become farmers and cultivators of the soil on their own account.*

It should ever be kept closely in view, that what is asked of the colonists, is, in their eyes, nothing less than this:—*to make an experiment, probably involving both their lives and properties, certainly at the risk of greatly deteriorating the latter.* Mr. Wilmot Horton admits the force of this objection, in its full magnitude. How is it to be overcome? Can it be removed by force,—by measures of coercion?—Certainly not. The colonists may be driven to extremities—they are already beset with difficulties on all sides—but conviction can never be induced, their fears can never be allayed, their prejudices be dissipated, by force. Yet this is what the saints *pray for*, and what the British Government *may* resort to. The only result, however, of such a proceeding would be the inevitable loss of the colonies. Are our differences with the United States entirely adjusted?—Is there no chance that Jamaica and Cuba would tempt them again to enter the lists with us?—Is there no risk of the West Indian colonies becoming free *before their time*, and independent of all control? I should be truly glad to have all such fears removed, and to see all differences happily settled.

When the experiment of emancipation was re-

solved on, the colonists and West Indian proprietors (speaking as Mr. Barham spoke and wrote their sentiments and feelings, most convincingly and truly) stated their *perfect readiness to surrender their properties, for the purpose of its being made, on receiving a moderate compensation for the same*. Had they not an undoubted right so to speak? Their properties were vested in them by all the securities which are possessed by freeholders and proprietors in England; consequently, when they were to be interfered with, and their value lessened or endangered, they had a right, clear and indefeasible, to ask for and to receive either positive or contingent compensation.

These vested interests, however, valued at upwards of *one hundred millions sterling*, were of too formidable a nature for the British Government to assume; and the melioration of the state of the slaves being still the cry of the saints, with the voice of humanity raised by the nation at their back, the government determined to make the experiment; providing, no doubt, *compensation* to the owner for every individual slave manumitted, but *none at all* for the danger of rebellion, or the deterioration of property, and ultimately the total loss of that property, should the experiment fail of success.

That the fears of the colonists, respecting rebellion, were or are ill founded, no man acquainted with the West Indies, or who looks back dispassionately on the events which have occurred at Barbados, Demerara, and Jamaica, since the agitation of this question, can for one moment believe. That the value of West Indian property has been deteriorated, and is considered to be held by a most precarious tenure, is sufficiently apparent in the case of the West India Company, lately formed and established by Royal Charter, and governed by the greatest, and most respectable merchants in the city of London. That institution — calculated to assist the colonists, and to become a grand national establishment, should the affairs of the colonies be happily settled — has, within these few months, resolved to postpone the commencement of business, until West Indian affairs should assume a more settled aspect, and the tranquillity of the respective islands be placed on a more stable footing. At present, West Indian properties are nearly unsaleable, and mortgages are no longer to be negociated. I believe the question of compensation to be reduced, if not into the dimensions of a nut-shell, into this small compass: — The British Government have told the colonists — we require and

expect that you will alter the slave code, so as to allow manumission to proceed without impediments. The colonists say — we are ready to consent to this, provided you give us some reasonable security for our property not being deteriorated in value by such a change of system, the result of which no man can tell. — The colonists by no means seek to *uphold* the slave system; but their properties being *vested in that system*, they ask for security in case of ultimate loss; and, that ultimate loss will result, is at least a possible event. The question thus involves the interest and well-being of the next, no less — probably even more — than of the present generation. In common with their fellow men in every station of life, they are bound, by the principles of nature and of right, to protect, to the extent of their power, the interests of their posterity as well as of themselves.

If my views of this great question are correct, the colonists are entitled to ask for protection against ultimate loss, and also that they may choose their time for altering the slave code, and meliorating the system.

The anti-colonial party can no longer hope to make it believed that the slave system is one fraught with such misery and wretchedness as was supposed. The testimony of such men as the

Bishops of Jamaica and Barbados,—of the naval and military officers who are serving in the colonies, and are unconnected with either party—must have opened the eyes of the British public; and the actual state of slavery in Jamaica, as ably pourtrayed by Mr. Barclay, will at last turn men's minds, it is to be hoped, from evils, which are not felt as evils, and which are at a distance, to those which are truly grievous, and which are at *our very doors, and before our eyes.*

The questions and answers of a number of officers stationed at Barbados, and of professional men both in that colony and at Dominica, have been already laid before the public; but the opinion expressed by Colonel Sir E. Williams, K.C.B., of the 4th, or King's own Regiment, I wish to insert, as corresponding with my own feelings, observation, and experience. When questioned respecting the general treatment and well-being of the slaves in the West Indies, his answer was:—"I have purposely sought for opportunities of ascertaining the situation of the slaves, during the short time of my residence in the West Indies—from an impression, when I left England, that they were badly treated in the colonies; and I have found them well fed, and well treated, and I firmly believe that, generally speaking, *they are better off than the labouring classes in England.*"

OBSERVATIONS MORE PARTICULARLY ADDRESSED TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN COLONISTS — TO THE ANTI-COLONISTS — AND TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

In submitting a few observations to the West Indian body of proprietors and colonists, and more especially to the colonial legislatures, I can only say, that howsoever weak may be the voice which addresses them, the motive is good and the cause urgent.—The time has arrived in which it is necessary to adopt, and sanction with the seal of colonial authority, all the proposed change in the slave code — to assign sufficient reasons for refusal — or to be prepared to meet the high displeasure of government in the event of non-compliance. *Most* of the new enactments of the Order in Council, I hope and think will be adopted cheerfully and unanimously. Should a difference of opinion be found to exist, on the momentous question of manumission and emancipation, the best course to be pursued, the other measures hav-

ing been adopted, would probably be to request an extension of *time*, to consider and advise on the *practical* effects likely to result from its adoption, and to be enabled to guard against evils which *might* arise, where blessings alone had been *contemplated* and *designed*. This might be in a great measure effected through the experience which the ceded colonies may afford. Whatever is to be done, let it be done well, howsoever slowly, so that alterations and changes, which can seldom be attempted without danger, may not become necessary hereafter.

Amongst the numerous difficulties which surround the decision of this great question, and which cannot all be foreseen, far less provided against, one of the greatest will be found in the probable, *destination* and *disposal* of the negroes, when they shall have acquired education, and the means of attaining their freedom. In my humble opinion, the former owner ought to possess the power of retaining them, after their emancipation, as hired labourers and cultivators, at moderate wages, and letting out his grounds to them at a moderate rent. If artisans or mechanics, he should have the option of employing them on similar terms for a specific period. This mode would be extremely eligible for the negroes, who would thus be permitted to remain with their fa-

milies, not yet perhaps manumitted, but who might be so in a few years, by the certain and profitable employment of the parents.

I should be inclined to frame some general ground-work of proceeding *now*, satisfactory to the colonists, and beneficial to the negroes, *previously* to making the alteration in the slave code, permitting unconditional manumission. It might, perhaps, in process of time, be necessary to modify, and to enlarge the scheme; but, in the interim, the adoption of an organized plan would at once give confidence to the colonists, and afford the most satisfactory proof to government of their willingness ultimately to receive and to enforce the enactments of the new system. This should be done promptly; for, whilst any point is felt to be doubtful, whilst any measures remain to be adjusted between the mother country and the colonists, the latter will be the sufferers — their properties will become less valuable, and their comforts less secure — and the cry of the abolitionists will probably be more furious and tormenting than ever.

Government has resolved on the *melioration* of slavery, in the first instance, with a view to its *final extinction* hereafter, not only in accordance with the wishes of the anti-colonists, but with those of the British nation, who are also enthusi-

asts in the cause, and whose voice will and must be heard. Mr. Canning's words are, that Government wishes the *state* of slavery to *expire* and die away of itself, rather than that freedom should be given in the first place, except from the industry of the negroes themselves, working it out in their own behalf.

Education, civilization, and religious instruction, will effect *much* — will effect ALL that is desirable. St. Domingo furnishes, it is true, an instance of free labour, producing little; yet, let it be remembered, that queen of islands is *uncivilized*, her population is *uneducated*, and *still savage*. — *Freedom* is a startling subject to West Indians. Why is it so? — Not, surely, because the colonists proclaim its inferiority to slavery, but only because they have been accustomed to live in a land of slavery — a country in which slavery is the law of the soil — a soil in which their properties are vested. This ought not to be charged upon West Indians as a crime. Their modes of thinking and acting (right or wrong) belong to the system. Man takes a part, and by no means an inconsiderable part of his character, from the situation which he holds, and from the persons with whom he associates; and he can no more escape the influence of these than he can alter his stature, or change his colour.

It is time for the respective parties to understand one another — especially, that the negroes should know, and understand *exactly*, what is meant to be done for them. No man acquainted with Colonial affairs will affect to consider the delay which has taken place, on the part of the Colonists, as arising from obstinacy, or unwillingness to meliorate the condition of the slaves. Had melioration *only* been proposed, their course would have been easy, and would have been promptly and cheerfully followed. When *melioration*, however, is proposed only as a means, and *emancipation* as the *end* and *object*, the question becomes one of far greater difficulty, and requiring much more serious and much more mature consideration; for — it lays the foundation of an *entire change of system* in the West Indies — of a change which may involve the safety, and affect the interests and fortunes of the Colonists. Can it be wondered at, that men, *thus* situated, should *pause*, before they yield their assent — before they are enabled to see their way *clearly* — before they receive *some security* for the consequences to which such a change may lead? — It is not, I repeat, that the Colonists prefer slavery, abstractedly, to the new system, but that they wish to be protected against evils which *may* arise to to them, as individuals, whose lives and fortunes are at stake. Allow them the requisite guarantee

—let their doubts and apprehensions be removed —and I am satisfied, that the Colonial Legislatures *no longer* will hesitate in adopting the Orders in Council, as the basis of their new slave codes. Indeed, a compliance with the recommendations of Government is now becoming imperative—will admit of no longer delay, unless the Colonies chuse to subject themselves to the displeasure of the mother country. Such a situation it would be impossible to contemplate without feelings of the most lively regret—regret, accompanied by the most serious *apprehension*. The power of Britain is gigantic; and any difference, or misunderstanding, between her and the Colonies, though producing mischief to the stronger party, may also involve the weaker in confusion—wide-spreading and irretrievable ruin. The very *idea* of the protection of the mother country being withdrawn, may induce, as *immediate results*, what the Colonists now regard only as *possible contingencies*. No foreign power can extricate the Colonies from the consequences of such a misunderstanding as may be apprehended.—Either they must remain protected and cherished, as heretofore, by the mother country, or they subject themselves to *certain evils*, from which there is no escape, in the vain hope of avoiding others, which, after all, *may never occur*. It is therefore now the *duty*, and should be the

business of the colonial legislatures to shew their *disposition* to comply with the recommendations of the Order in Council, and to adopt *every* point wherein it can be followed without manifest injury to their lives and properties. Where there may yet be doubts and difficulties, let them be respectfully stated, and further delay solicited. Let their *disposition* to act in conformity with the *will of the nation* (for such it is now recognised and recorded), be *made manifest;* and I am satisfied, that His Majesty's ministers are not the men to refuse time for consideration, or to hurry the colonists into measures which may prove prejudicial to their interests, and injurious to the welfare of all concerned. The supremacy of the mother country requires no such proceedings to uphold it, nor do ministers yet contemplate such a necessity, as a crisis of the nature alluded to would impose. They anticipate a more kindly spirit from the colonists, whose apprehensions, I trust, they will seek to allay, and whose difficulties they will make allowance for. Never may their enemies be countenanced in their calls for unmerited censure or severity. I am firmly of opinion, that the more the subject shall be investigated, the fears of the colonists, respecting manumission and emancipation, will the more recede, until they ultimately vanish. When we recollect what man has been formed by

education and knowledge, a lively hope may be indulged, that the uncivilized African slave may be converted into the industrious free labourer. That hope indeed is heightened, when we reflect upon the progress which has been made, and the changes which have been *visibly* effected, even since the abolition.

That the colonists may decide well and wisely, is my earnest wish and prayer; and that the colonies may remain peaceable, and their population continue happy and prosperous, is no less so. Though surrounded with difficulties, real or apparent, I trust they will have a happy issue out of them all.

In addressing those who have strongly advocated the cause of humanity, and have viewed the subject *only* with reference to humanity, may I be forgiven, if I seek to call their attention to some considerations, which deserve to be embodied in this momentous question — momentous no less to the master than to the slave, no less to the mother country than to the colonies? — That the system of melioration wished to be introduced into the slave codes, is fraught with numerous benefits to the slaves, I am ready to acknowledge; but, that the conversion of the slaves into free men, will add materially to their happiness, until they shall have been educated, instructed, and civilized, I am not

prepared to admit. Had the leaders of the anti-colonists, or even their accredited agents, visited the West Indies, seeking for *practical knowledge* on the subject of *practical slavery*, I am convinced that they would have held different opinions, cherished less hostile feelings towards the colonists, and have found that they were legislating, or urging parliament to legislate, on a question involving the lives and fortunes of the men whom they calumniated — whom they *did not know*. — Although the anti-colonists have been content to take *theory* for *practice*, and to *condemn* the colonists, without *seeing* them, it is satisfactory to know, that the persons who have been sent out by the British government to *inquire* and *report* — to *see*, and *then approve* or *condemn* — to govern, and direct the course of West Indian affairs — have not acted thus. It is indeed satisfactory to be able to add *their* testimony, which none can impeach — to bring forward *their* evidence, which none can gainsay and *hope to be any longer believed* — in opposition to that of men who have shewn themselves interested, and prejudiced, and ignorant. Free trade, and a *new* system, are not popular at home, any more than they are in the colonies; nor have they been hitherto productive of good to this country. In this age of universal knowledge, however, every man affects to be master of any business excepting

his own: the lawyer assumes the management of foreign and colonial politics, the newspaper writer of agriculture, the lecturer lays down systems of trade, and the surgeon regulates the relations between master and servant!! Nevertheless, Britain has flourished under old systems!

Listen to the opinions of men who have stood forward in defence of their fellow colonists — of men who, like Mr. M'Queen, and Mr. Barclay, have shewn what *practical* slavery really is. Mr. Barham has distinctly shewn what are the rights and just expectations of the colonists — by whom slavery was first introduced into the West Indian islands — by whom it was upheld and encouraged in its growth and progress. The British nation, and the British parliament, were its authors; and Mr. Barham has demonstrated, that neither the one nor the other can, *now*, interfere with the vested and confirmed rights of property in the colonists, without granting security or compensation. Mr. Canning and Lord Eldon have both sanctioned this view of the subject. This, too, must be the opinion — the firm conviction — of every honest man, who has considered *both* sides of the question. — Let it not for a moment be imagined, that the colonists seek to uphold the system of slavery. No; they wish only to have *security* for their property — *compensation* for it — and they will resign it *to-mor-*

row. They are friendly to melioration; and *they are* the *friends*, as well as the *masters* of the slaves, not alone from interested motives, but from the ties of mutual protection and dependence—from those ties which long and reciprocal relations naturally produce between master and servant.

The state of the slave population in the colonies has been undergoing constant melioration; and it is now so far improved, as to be infinitely superior—excepting in education, and in religious knowledge—to that of the lower orders in this country. Information makes freedom dear to the English labourer; but the slave knows not its proper value, *nor can he know it*, until civilized and instructed.

Mr. Stephen has given *the laws of slavery, as it existed fifty years ago;* but Mr. Barclay has given a *practical view* of the law and system *as they now exist*—hear ye him!—He will also tell you, that the slaves are a happy population, with the power and practice of accumulating property, and protected in their rights and privileges, as fully as are the people of this country. Should *more* evidence be required, take that of several of the governors of the colonies, in addition to what has been already stated, as furnished by the bishops and military officers who have *first seen, and then reported.*

Sir Charles Brisbane, governor of St. Vincent's, in his dispatch of September 1, 1823, says—"I

am happy to bear testimony to the kind and careful treatment of the slaves by every proprietor here, and I am highly gratified in being able to state, that many of the improvements suggested by the government at home, have been already *anticipated* by the *humanity* and wisdom of those who have legislated for this colony, during my residence in it (fifteen years), more particularly that part where religious instruction is mentioned; and it will, I am sure, afford His Majesty's government great satisfaction, that this has been assiduoulsy attended to by every proprietor."

The legal commissioner sent from this country reports (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1826),——"I feel it incumbent on me to state, that the slave, in St. Vincent's (as I was satisfied from personal attendance in court on successive days) has criminal justice administered to him, at the grand sessions, with a fairness and impartiality formerly unknown, and in the highest degree creditable to this island — indeed the law and the administration are both such as to confer honour on the legislature and the judge."

Major General Nicolay, governor of Dominica, in his dispatch of the 28th of March, 1825, (*Parliamentary Papers*,) states "his conviction, that throughout the island (Dominica) the slaves in general are contented and happy, and that their

treatment is certainly very good." — Similar testimonies from the other colonies will be found recorded in the Parliamentary Papers, but it is unnecessary to refer to more of them here.

When the slaves are told (as they have been told), that they are henceforth to be free men, so soon as they can raise money to purchase their freedom, and that it is intended to abolish slavery as soon as it may be possible and practicable, is it to be supposed, that the news will not *unsettle their minds*, and render a continuance of slavery under *any* system irksome to them? Is it to be imagined, that false views, and deceitful hopes, will not enter into their hitherto uncultivated minds, on a subject of such interest to them, and equally so to their masters? — It is this *unsettling* of the minds of the slaves which the colonists *fear*, and which recent events justify them in fearing, no less than their practical knowledge, and deep interest in the question. God forbid, that any consequences, excepting such as are favourable to humanity, should arise from the agitation of this question, or from the adoption of the new system; but that it will be attended with considerable difficulty, and some danger, is self-evident to all who are conversant with West Indian affairs. Nor is it the least of attendant difficulties, in settling this great change of system, that the *constant agi-*

tation and *warm discussion* of the subject in this country, lead to the same in the colonies; thus keeping the minds of both colonists and slaves in a state of continual irritation. Nothing can be more adverse to all security of property, to the prospect of tranquillity, and to every plan of improvement and civilization. To precipitate the measures of the colonists, under the peculiar circumstances in which they stand — circumstances alike new and momentous *to them*, and not to them only, but to the nation — would endanger the loss of the colonies, the right arm of Britain. Such a loss — at a period, too, when other great powers are eagerly pursuing the acquisition of colonies and commerce — Britain cannot afford to hazard. Of all sceptres, the *trident* is the proudest; and when Britain resigns or parts with that imperial ensign of command and superiority, her sun of glory will be sinking in the wave — will set, to rise no more!

To those who have advocated the measures of melioration and emancipation so strenuously, and so unceasingly, I would now say — pursue not the *stricken deer into his lair*, or he may turn, and all the labour be lost: drive him not into the stream, or you may lose him — lose him for ever.*

* The Editor of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, in reviewing the "Naval Sketch Book," begs to ask Mr.

Every sudden and violent change must be productive of injury; and no change of system in the West Indies can now be acted on, without guaranteeing the security of the master, as well as providing for the improvement of the slave. Let security and melioration be alike provided for, and the good work will advance and flourish; the colonists will go hand in hand with the government and

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Wilberforce a question:—"Good Mr. W.—, suppose your father had been a West India planter, and a good man.—Suppose you were yourself a West India planter, and although not quite so pious as you now are—still as men go, pretty pious, and an honest man. Suppose farther, that partly from humanity, partly from self-interest, that you had done all you could to ameliorate the condition of your slaves—not being able to sell them, nor rich enough to emancipate them—what would you think of any person of the name of Wilberforce, Buxton, or Macaulay, who should fall foul of you, with every mouth-missile he could fling, and load you with charges of robbery, cruelty, and murder?—and what, if you shewed him some hundreds of those you were every day robbing and murdering, all alive and happy, and challenged him to dance, sing a song, or sleep at a sermon, with any of those slaves, and that still he should roar out robbery and murder, and swear, that he *knew* the whole black population to be daily and hourly kicked, beaten, lashed, ravished, and put to death in lingering torments—what would you think of the said Mr. Wilberforce?"

with the nation; and the colonies will continue to be valuable to the mother country, and to repose happily under a parent's wing. Let not injury or harshness reverse the picture, and a want of forbearance lead to *certain* evil, in seeking *uncertain* good.

OBSERVATIONS CONTINUED.

It was well observed by Mr. Secretary Canning, that, in the ebullitions of temper displayed by the colonists, he saw much to condemn, much to excuse, and nothing to punish; thus making allowances for the warmth of feeling manifested by parties, so deeply interested in a question, affecting all that was valuable, or dear to them. The time elapsed since the Resolutions of parliament were passed, has allowed that warmth to evaporate; and although the opinions of the West Indians may not be changed, nor their apprehensions removed, the best evidence has been afforded, in the cordial reception of the Bishops, and in the anxious wishes manifested by the colonists, to assist their labours in promoting education and religious instruction amongst the slaves, of the strong desire of the West Indian legislatures to forward the work of melioration, in every particular wherein they think they can do so, without risk of compromising their lives and properties. Respecting manumission and emancipation, indeed, they are not yet agreed, either as to the practicability, or

the security of such measures; but on all other points, I apprehend, little difficulty or delay will be experienced, more especially if they are not goaded on by unjust aspersions and violent declamations, which cannot be productive of good to *any* party; * but which must retard, more and

* It is impossible to pass by unnoticed, the reports which have appeared in the newspapers, of the Resolutions that were passed at a meeting of the Surrey Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Spread Eagle, Epsom, on the 18th of October, 1827; H. Drummond, Esq., (in the absence of C. N. Pallmer, Esq. one of the county members) in the chair. Seldom has more violence, not to say ferocity, of expression, been apparent in Resolutions of this character.

"That this meeting never supposed that men who contend for the right of reducing the helpless and unprotected to a state of slavery, and *of hanging them for not submitting quietly to the injustice*, would willingly consent to adopt any measures for improving the condition of their *victims*. That the reluctance of the Demerara planters and of the other colonists in the present instance, is only another proof, if any were wanting, of the gross delusion practised on the British public by those who maintain that the business of legislating for the protection of the negroes should be left in the hands of the planters and their agents in the colonial assemblies, whose gains are in proportion to their usurpations; and of whom some, when it was proposed by his Majesty's government that Sunday should be wholly given up to the enslaved negroes as a day of rest and relaxation, actually preferred a claim for

more, the cordial adoption of the Order in Council, on which it is desired to raise the superstructure of melioration and freedom.

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compensation; while others refused to make any alterations — a refusal, which, in all its circumstances, but too closely resembles that which in ancient times brought down the great judgments of the Lord upon Pharaoh, when, in the hardiness of his heart, he said to the task-masters of the people, 'the tale of bricks which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them: ye shall not diminish aught thereof, for they be idle; therefore they cry, let us go and sacrifice to our God.'

"That this meeting altogether doubt the propriety of allowing *the wolf to make laws for the protection of the lamb*, and cannot exclude from their recollection, that the colonists, *far from respecting the rights of strangers to them in blood, have even consigned to the same state of unlawful bondage their own mulatto children, born of kidnapped English and foreign women, evincing thereby a want of sympathy and natural feeling unknown to the untaught savage*, and only to be found in the very men in whose equity and moderation, as practical legislators, the people of England are urged to place confidence."

So much for the mild, and meek, and truly *Christian* spirit of conciliation displayed by *some* of the abolitionists! — After the *unimpeachable* evidence which has been adduced by our governors, commissioners, &c. from the different West Indian Islands, of the humane and benevolent conduct of the colonists towards their slaves, all that the just, the impartial, the liberal-minded, can wish, is that

The British government are perfectly aware of the difficulty which exists in reconciling the minds of the colonists to a change that must eventually and designedly lead to the emancipation of the slaves, and which cannot fail of rendering their properties far less productive, far less valuable, and far less secure. There is assuredly not only a great *difficulty*, but a great *delicacy*, in requiring the colonists to adopt *this part* of the new system, without affording them a guarantee that their properties shall not suffer, or that, if they should suffer, compensation should be awarded for the injury.

Although persons at a distance from the scene of action, unacquainted with the colonies, and with the difficulties with which the colonists are surrounded, may complain of delay, the British government have means so ample of knowing the situation of all parties, that in them at least, it will excite neither wonder nor surprise, that the colonial legislatures have not yet done all that has been required of them. Government, we know, has provided that the owner of every emancipated slave shall receive his just and full value; but it has not provided, that if a proprietor's estate

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the sentiments expressed in the above Resolutions should be compared with the important facts recorded in the petition from the Jamaica House of Assembly, quoted at page 236, *et seq.*

shall become less productive, by a part of his slaves having been thus emancipated, he shall be re-imbursed; nor has any security been given against the depreciation which the new state of things may entail on his property, and in the inheritance of his posterity. Neither has any provision been made against the disturbances and losses which may arise in consequence of the proposed change in the situation of the slaves, and of the excitation it must produce in their minds — which it has already produced — and which the colonists may be now regarding as suppressed, — suppressed, but not extinguished.

These are not altogether imaginary grounds for delay, on the part of the colonists: their validity has been recognized by Mr. Canning and by Mr. Wilmot Horton, men far too conversant with human nature, and with the rights of men and of nations, to withhold allowance for the objections of the colonists against adopting *experimental measures without security*, or incurring risks without *some guarantee*.

I am by no means prepared to say, that the colonists have any right to expect that government will recede from its enactments on manumission and emancipation; nor am I of opinion that the colonists would wish for any such concession; *their* object being not to *perpetuate slavery*,

but *to obtain security*, in the change from a system of slavery to a system of freedom.

Conciliation and forbearance may effect much, whilst intemperance and condemnation will assuredly irritate and inflame — retard still farther the progress of melioration, and prevent that good understanding and harmony which it is so desireable should prevail on this momentous question. From the wisdom and calm dignity of the British cabinet, I am sure the colonists have every thing to expect; as far at least as regards moderate and forbearing measures, a recognizance of the rights and interests of the colonists, and a sincere desire to provide for the welfare and security of all classes of the inhabitants. Their example will, I trust, be followed by the anti-colonists; and that, where all are not yet agreed, time and opportunities may be allowed, for agreeing on conviction, legislating in wisdom, and acting in unison. The reverse of this picture is fraught with the most gloomy colours. If we allow the storm to overtake us, and the horrors of the tempest to pour upon our devoted heads, before we shall have *consented* to seek a place of refuge, the wreck of the colonies will teach us, when too late, the value of what we have cast away, and what can never be regained. If the relative duties of parents and children are once broken — the ties of protection, of duty, and

of affection, are burst asunder — who shall restore them? If, then, the value of the West Indian colonies be acknowledged — if the consumption of several millions' worth of British manufactures annually, the employment of nearly 1000 sail of West Indiamen to convey them out, and bring back the produce of the colonies — if the same amount of duties paid into the exchequer, and the value of the produce,* be regarded as objects worthy of consideration, and estimated as they hitherto have been — the colonists will not be deserted by the British government, nor their interests be hazarded by precipitate or harsh and hasty measures.†

* These, in 1825, amounted to 8,655,538*l.*

† Ministers ought to recollect, that at present they govern Great Britain *and the Indies*; that, 50 years ago, a British minister governed Great Britain, *America*, and the Indies. Would he again risk the loss of America for a tax on tea? No. — It was the principle of intermeddling which called America, as a new state, into existence, and which lost St. Domingo to France by insurrection. That colony, in 1789, exported to France 7,711,052*l.* sterling; in 1822, it exported 1,703,729*l. with a free population!!* Mark the difference.

Major Rainsford, in his *Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, &c.* published in 1805, thus speaks of St. Domingo, as it existed previously to the Revolution:—

Whilst it is most desirable that this great question should be settled, as soon as possible, and its incessant agitation and discussion be rendered no longer

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"Flushed with opulence and dissipation, the majority of planters at St. Domingo had arrived at a state of sentiment the most vitiated, and manners equally depraved: while, injured from example so contagious, the slaves had become more dissolute than those of any British island. If the master was proud, voluptuous, and crafty, the slave was equally vicious: the punishment of one was but the consequence of his own excesses; but that of the other was often cruel and unnatural. The proprietor could bear no rival in his parish; would not bend even to the ordinances of justice. The creole slaves looked upon the newly imported Africans with scorn, and sustained, in their turn, that of the mulattoes, whose complexion was browner; while all were kept at a distance from the intercourse of the whites. Nor did the boundaries of sex, it is painful to observe, keep their wonted distinction, from the stern impulses that affect men. The European ladies too often participated in the austerity and arrogance of their male kindred; while the jet-black beauty, among slaves, though scarcely a native of the island, refused all commerce with those who could not boast the same distinction with herself.

"Such was the situation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo in the beginning of the year 1789, prompt to any movement that should create an effervescence among them, or afford the one party an opportunity of opposing the other; yet, while private feuds were eager for an op-

necessary, it is equally desirable to refrain from all irritating measures, and for all parties to unite in seeking conciliation, where alone it can be found, in

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portunity to burst into public clamour, the situation of the country was such as hath been described, like the verdant bosom of a volcano, unconscious of the flame about to burst; the people were cheerful, the markets so plentifully stocked, the lands loaded with production, and the colony, if '*overwhelmed with debt*,' it may be admitted to be said, flourishing every where."

Let us now revert, for a moment, to the more recent state of St. Domingo. Mr. Barclay, in his *Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies* (p. 373), in noticing the "Report of the Trade for Port-au-Prince, in 1824," says:—

"It will be strange, indeed, if the most sceptical are not convinced of the flourishing state of St. Domingo, when they learn from this second 'official report,' which has come forth, that the produce shipped from its 'chief' port and great mart of trade, in 1824, amounted to no less than 9,551 tons [of coffee, cotton, and log-wood,] while that of the Havannah during the same period amounted to 170,989 tons, and that of Kingston, in the comparatively little island of Jamaica, to upwards of 80,000! Why the exports from the other ports of St. Domingo are not given, may easily be conjectured. But the SUGAR! what has become of it? Have the clouds ceased to drop down fatness, or the earth to give its increase? Cannot one single ounce of sugar be procured from 935,335, or nearly a MILLION, of free labourers? What says our free-labour company to

the desire to do good to all, and injury to none. This is the course which has been hitherto pursued by government, and I am persuaded that it is the course which will continue to be followed. It is, no doubt, the province of the parent, to display firmness of purpose, with conciliatory and forbearing conduct: such a mode of proceeding can never be more necessary than in dealing with *suffering children,* who *may* be deemed froward, but whose situation must claim forgiveness, and not demand punishment. Surely allowance is called for, when it is considered that the colonists at Jamaica have such neighbours as are to be found at their elbow in St. Domingo;* and when called on

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this? Have they sent out an agent to see what our brethren are doing? Can they not prevail upon them to replant some of those fertile fields, which, previous to emancipation, with only half the present population to cultivate them, sent annually to Europe 230 millions of pounds of sugar?"

* Where are the sailors of France now? Where her commercial and naval marine? Who called Hayti into existence, to the loss of France? *Les Amis des Noirs.* Who are playing the same game (I trust they will lose it) with the British colonies? It is *Les Amis des Noirs!* The excess of imports from the colonies within the last 100 years, has amounted to nearly 200 millions sterling, which has become British capital, and promoted agriculture and

to legislate, *contrary to their conviction,* the call ought not to be made either with unnecessary precipitancy, or in the language of displeasure.

It will be well to bear in mind, that Mr. Canning's speech was delivered more than two years ago, and that the irritation he alluded to, as displayed by the people of Jamaica, had been produced, by their having measures of melioration proposed to them, immediately after the appearances of insubordination — immediately, indeed, after an insurrection of the slaves had been the unhappy consequence of *merely discussing* the question of emancipation. Surely the same allowance should be — will be — made for the colony of Jamaica, as for that of Demerara, which, but for insurrection, Mr. Canning stated would have been the *first* colony selected for *experiment.* Now, however, the Orders in Council have been carried into effect in Demerara, also; so that the experiment is in full operation, in all the three ceded islands; and I think there can be little doubt that the old colonies will gradually follow the example set, as circumstances may prove the safety and

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manufacture; yet all this, and much more, are to be hazarded now. So has parliament resolved! — Second thoughts are sometimes best: emancipation may be bought at too dear a rate!!

practicability of the change of system. That the colonial legislatures should be as quick, in yielding their assent to all the proposed measures of melioration, as the people of England, who are interested only on the side of humanity, require, is not, I apprehend, to be expected; and for this reason, that the colonists are far *too nearly connected* with this *experiment* — an experiment *made with their property* — to regard it lightly.

Should the anti-colonists venture to assert, that the recent insurrections in Jamaica and Demerara were not consequent on *a mere agitation* of the proposal for emancipating the slaves, my proof of the contrary is at hand: I refer them to the dispatches of the governors of those colonies, and to the king's proclamation to the slaves. — Again, then, I say, *time* for experience and consideration is requisite.

The colonists are *moving over hidden volcanoes*, too ready to burst forth at the bidding of evil men, or through the enthusiastic discussions of good men, who, to attain a great benefit, ought not to resort to precipitate measures, but to advance slowly and cautiously on the road to emancipation. More especially should this be considered as the only wise and just mode of action, when not only the properties of their fellow-subjects, honestly acquired, are at stake — not only

their *properties*, but their lives — and not only *their* lives, but the lives *of the men whose cause they advocate* — who have also every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, by desperate measures. Look at the present state of St. Domingo — *it well deserves our attention.*

The hundreds of petitions, manufactured from a *patent emancipation steam-engine*, and laid on the tables of both houses of parliament, during the last session, proved beyond doubt or controversy how completely the public mind had been yielded to the leaders of the party, on this great question. Those petitions, almost with one voice, prayed for the abolition of slavery, and for compensation to the colonists, *by taxing the nation* to redeem the slaves. How were these petitions got up, and what was their *real* object? They were carried from house to house for signature — advertized at the church doors, and on market days — and the people were told that "*no money would be required.*" Yet their prayer was *to tax the nation*, to the amount of *one hundred and twenty millions* sterling, for compensation to the colonists! Thousands signed these petitions, without reading, or being able to read them; and, when all was done, and the *debate* came, it was found, that there was *no more word of taxing*; but much was said to urge government to *enforce* their recommendations of the

new system, by pursuing a line of policy towards the colonies, which, *even had its success been certain*, neither the time nor the circumstances of the case would warrant.—I am much deceived, indeed, if the British government do not concur with me in thinking, that conciliation and forbearance are far more wise, and far more likely to effect the desired object, than the harsh and precipitate measures which are recommended and urged by the abolitionists. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Canning, Earl Bathurst, and Mr. Wilmot Horton, have all deprecated such proceedings; and surely the abolitionists themselves ought to feel, that they are not advancing, but retarding, melioration, by the furious violence of their conduct.

Some of the colonial legislatures—that of Tobago, in particular—have refused to concur in the proposition for "deferring punishment until the following day;" grounding their refusal on the great existing disproportion between the whites and blacks, and on their utter hopelessness of preserving their authority and dominion over the slave population, except by preserving, inviolate, that long established and acknowledged superiority of the white over the black; deeming the *time*, also, peculiarly unfit for altering long established laws—a time when even the faintest

spark appeared sufficient to kindle and inflame the whole West Indian horizon.

These fears may be thought—may be called—*visionary*, by those who are far removed from, and unconnected with, the colonies; but, by the West Indians, the abolitionists are, in their turn, regarded as *visionary enthusiasts*, in *pressing* changes which time only can render safe.

Let it be recollected by every friend of abolition, that in legislating for even the melioration of the slaves, the act must be performed with hazard to the lives and properties of the whites. Nor to the whites alone, is danger threatened. The recent events in Jamaica and Demerara, when even a breath was sufficient to fan the smouldering embers into a blaze of rebellion, too sadly indicate the destruction of life to blacks, as well as to whites' which might too probably follow an undue agitation of this equally delicate and important subject.

In a commercial light only, the loss of the whole of the colonies, whatever the abolitionists may urge to the contrary, would be felt from *one end of the kingdom to the other*. Should Englishmen be driven from the West Indian islands, these islands would remain uncultivated and unproductive, requiring little of our manufactures or shipping.—Every man who has local experience, will agree with me in this opinion; and it may be worth while

for the British government to recollect what St. Domingo *once was*, how fertile and productive, how rich and valuable a colony to France, and to think what it now is! It produces little, and it has made but slow and feeble advances in civilization or education, after twenty-five years of disunion from France, and of freedom to the negroes. Evidently, freedom *has not improved* THEIR *condition.**

The trade to St. Domingo formed the *basis of the French marine*, now lost, and never likely to be restored. In the madness of revolutionary fever, this *jewel* was thrown away. Need I repeat, that it was lost by *converting slaves into freemen*, BEFORE they possessed any qualities to constitute them good citizens — save physical power alone — a good servant, but a bad master!

Recollections such as these must have great weight, and powerful influence on the feelings, and on the proceedings of the colonial legislature, in their measures of melioration, with a view to ultimate emancipation. They are only now recovering

* For a view of Sierra Leone, another seat of *free* labour, and of the state of the *free negroes, their industry, and improvement there*, see *Blackwood's Magazine*, for December, 1826. — "Still this country lives in and indulges in the delusion — still she clings to the phantom, and attempts to hug it to her breast." — *Vide* also the *John Bull* newspaper, almost weekly.

from the late alarms, and from the fear of dangers just averted. To expect that they should immediately divest themselves of apprehensions for the future, parties so deeply interested as they are, is to expect *more* than human nature can perform, and *much more* than the abolitionists have any right to ask.

To the parental voice of the British parliament and the British government, the colonial legislatures will, I trust, hearken, and proceed to the adoption of every proposed measure, in which danger may not threaten to attend the alteration of the law, or a want of security impede their progress. Thus may the annual discussion of this question soon cease to be necessary. The wisdom of government will be displayed, no less in forbearing to press with premature urgency the points on which a difference of opinion still exists, than in seeking to lessen the fears and increase the security of the colonists; who, if left quietly to themselves, to the influence of time, and to the example of the ceded colonies, will never suffer a year to pass away without the adoption of new measures of melioration.

The progress made in the education and instruction of the slaves will be a sight equally pleasing as interesting for the colonists to contemplate. Formerly, the ignorance of the newly imported slaves, with reference to the language and manners of the colonists, was a great and insurmount-

able obstacle in the attempt to teach them; but, since the abolition, this difficulty exists no longer. The creole slaves all understand and speak English, or French, tolerably well; sufficiently, at least, to comprehend their instructors. In a few years' time, should no sinister event occur, this, as I have already intimated, cannot fail of inducing the most salutary results. However, in setting about the civilization, and the conversion to Christianity of 800,000 slaves, we must, to be successful, act *cautiously* and *discreetly*. It is not an act of parliament that will either *meliorate* or *emancipate;* reason and experience must both lead us and guide us in the good work.

The colonists have cleared themselves of imputations industriously heaped upon their heads, of cruelty towards their slaves. The state of society, in the West Indies, is, it is true, a mixed and peculiar state; and to be understood, it requires to be seen. No untravelled Englishman can fully comprehend its nature and practice. He knows it only by name. He is told that the slave is the absolute property of the master; but he knows not that the master is almost equally the slave of his slave. Of the relations between master and servant, the sense of mutual dependence, and of natural kindness and affection, which actually prevail, he *knows* nothing. — It is, however, a certain

fact, that the slaves *labour less, eat and drink more, have much more ready money,* dress better on holidays, and are treated with more kindness and attention when sick, than nine-tenths of the labourers of England. Some of that sympathy which had been so largely yielded to the slaves of the West Indies, if transferred, or extended to the wants and miseries of *free-born Britons,* would do *certain* good; and, God knows, the present times imperiously demand it.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

WHETHER the abolitionists have unduly hurried on ministers, and whether they seek unduly to hurry on the colonists, are questions which will be answered in the negative by one party, and in the affirmative by the other. On the consideration of these questions, I am averse to enter; yet, upon that consideration — upon the *just* answers to these questions — much depends; no less indeed, than the happy arrangement of existing differences of opinion, and the removal of such obstacles as still impede and retard the progress of melioration, already entered on in the ceded colonies. In those colonies, the Orders in Council are in force, and they are still *delayed* in the old ones — in which, however, *many of the improvements* are also going forward — only from the fear of premature change. Unhappily, the abolitionists have constituted themselves *parties*. They have advocated the cause of the slaves, possibly with the best intentions, but certainly, not with that *practical* knowledge of their present condition, and of West Indian affairs,

which alone can qualify them for saying what is likely to prove safe, just, and advantageous to all the other parties. The colonists possess the deepest stake in the result; and they have the greatest practical knowledge of the subject, the most intimate acquaintance with the negro character and condition. All that can be said against them is, that they have interests to look to, and prejudices perhaps to overcome. Let their interests, however, be taken care of, and their prejudices will disappear. On the contrary, if you trample on the former, you will increase the latter.

The persons constituting his majesty's government derive their information from excellent sources; *viz.* the governors of the colonies, and the commanders of our naval and military forces serving in the West Indies — unconnected with any party, and disinterested, excepting as regards their living amidst West Indian communities; but the abolitionists have no such superior sources of information: the missionaries sent out by them have their *opinions*, and their *prejudices* too, and they *dare not change them*. This has been proved by the recall of the Wesleyan missionaries from Jamaica, in consequence of their having published a report more favourable and friendly to the colonists than was agreeable to the party at home.* — The abolition-

* Much difference of opinion exists in the colonies, as

ists condemn slavery, as a system; and so do all men, in the abstract; but how is an evil of such magnitude, and of such long standing, to be successfully dealt with? Mr. Canning saw that the extreme difficulty was, *in the view of the abolitionists*, a matter of comparatively easy adjustment—"Let it be done away at once, and altogether!"—To this, however, they could not gain Mr. Canning's consent. Indeed, to think of such a measure, with the example of St. Domingo before us, would be nothing short of *madness*. Then, perhaps, the abolitionists still say, and still think, that the negroes of that colony, no longer slaves,* are happy, and prosperous, improving in civilization, and education. The reverse, however, has been found to be the case: the captains of the King's ships, and

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well as in this country, respecting the policy of employing sectarians in converting, and instructing the negroes in religious knowledge. I believe they have done good in converting many heathens; but I do fear that individuals of their number have sought to instil principles into the minds of the slave population, at variance no less with the peace of the colonies than ruinous to the interests of all, and to hopes of future benefit to the slaves.

* Boyer, the emperor, not long since issued a proclamation, which was published in the West India papers, wherein he establishes *compulsory labour* by *military force!* This is the land of *freedom!*

the masters of mercantile vessels, agree in declaring their conviction, that every thing has been lost, and nothing gained, by the change of government there.

The abolitionists protest against slavery in general. Certainly it will be gratifying to see it terminated at some future day; but that day cannot be *to-morrow*, or *next day*. Years must yet pass over before it can be accomplished. It must be the work of *time*, and of sound judgment and discretion in the progressive steps which must mark its progress. The attempts made, and continued to be made, to hasten its advance by ill-digested plans, or enthusiastic declamations against the colonists, must hurt the cause, prevent its progress, and even render its ultimate attainment of far less value. Melioration, education, and religious knowledge, must constitute the basis on which emancipation is to be raised; or, what is intended as a blessing will prove a curse to the negroes: they will revert to their primitive barbarism, and the colonies will be lost.

The colonists have been held up to public scorn and indignation, and most unjustly charged with first depriving the negroes of their freedom, and then refusing to restore it. Nothing can be less true. British merchants were the men — then living in England, and never perhaps across the

Atlantic — who fitted out ships, and sent goods in those ships, to be bartered for men — for negroes! These negroes, when transported across the seas, and landed in the colonies, were purchased by the planters, it is true, and became their property; and this trade, and this property, were *encouraged, promoted,* and *sanctioned* by the British parliament. It was not, therefore, the *colonists* who carried those negroes from their homes: it was the *merchants of London and Liverpool,* by their agents, *who did this;* and it is foreign to justice and fair dealing to seek to deprive the colonists of this property, or, without fair compensation and security, to pass laws which may lessen its value.

It is beyond all doubt, too, that the negroes, thus brought to the colonies, soon considered their change of country a favourable change for them. They were required to work, it is true; but they were provided with food and clothes, taken care of in sickness, and were no longer at the mercy of their kings or great men, to be dragged away to battle, or to have their heads cut off, in the cruel caprice of a moment. That such was actually the case in Africa, Captain Clapperton's late publication — to look no further back — will sufficiently attest; and every person who has questioned the negroes in the West Indies is fully aware of the fact, and of their *utter aversion to return to Africa.* Their situ-

ation in the colonies is undoubtedly one of comparative happiness and comfort. That it admits of melioration and improvement no one will deny. There is no society so constituted, no people so happy, amongst whom an increase of happiness may not be desireable — few cases in which it may not be practicable.

Much stress has been laid on the abject condition and miserable situation of the slave. This tells well in *theory*, but the *practice* is in direct opposition to that *theory*. On the other hand, very little, if any, allowance has been made for the circumstances and feelings of the planter and the colonist, whom the abolitionists are *touching* to the *quick*, and subjecting to the same, if not greater apprehensions, than a stockjobber would endure at the idea that stocks would fall 40*l.* or 50*l.* per cent., and that he should consequently lose a great part of his property. The difference would be in favour of the stock broker; for *his* life would be safe and in no danger; whereas, that of the *colonist* is placed in jeopardy, whenever the agitation of the question, or the discussion of the subject, is brought forward.

Government has endeavoured to steer a middle course — to provide for improvement in the condition of the slaves, and not altogether to lose sight of the vested interests of the colonists. To

achieve the former requires firmness, unaccompanied by rapidity or harshness; and to secure the latter is evidently an obligation on the part of all who pursue the good work of melioration and emancipation. Anxious as all concerned must be for the final close of this great question, it is impossible not to regret the unfavourable reception which the proposed bills of melioration have experienced from some of the colonial legislatures. It would have afforded infinite gratification to learn, that many of these bills had been passed by the Council and Assembly of Jamaica; and that, if any of them had appeared not sufficiently favourable to the interests of the colonists, their consideration had been adjourned until the arrival of more satisfactory information. Whilst, however, these pages were preparing for publication, the *refusal* of the Council and Assembly of Grenada, and of St. Vincent's, to pass the bills, was received; the refusal being grounded on the plea, that they were "unnecessary and unconstitutional." It does not appear that *any* of the bills had been passed. From Jamaica, too, the news is so unfavourable as to leave scarcely a hope of the bills being passed in that island; and there appears to be a firm determination on the part of the colonial legislatures to resist their introduction, without safeguards, and without modifications!

At present it is impossible to do more than *regret the existence of such a state of things* — to regret that these new bills should have been *pressed* on the colonies, until conciliation had been effected— to regret that they had been thrown out and re-rejected, by large majorities. Does not this prompt and unhesitating rejection unequivocally demonstrate, that, in the colonies of Grenada and St. Vincent's, melioration had been already carried to its *utmost point* consistent with the opinions and practical experience of the members of the legislature? — Until the arrival of this intelligence, my hopes were strong that the new system might have been rendered palatable to the colonists, and that Government might have attained many important advantages, in forwarding the work of melioration; whilst the colonists, having received the promise of securities, and been allowed ample time for deliberation and consideration, would have entered into the spirit of the new code, and have left the parent legislature nothing farther to perform, or even to wish. These hopes are *damped*, but *not destroyed*. The situation of the mother country and of the colonies admits of no other *safe* course, than to settle and *make up their differences* in the best manner that they can, and the *sooner* the *better*.

The colonial legislatures of Grenada and St.

Vincent's have hitherto been amongst the *first* to meliorate and improve the condition of the slaves; and I am satisfied that their *refusal* must have proceeded entirely and exclusively *from a conviction* of the great risk to which their properties and persons would be exposed by passing the new bills. This belief is strengthened by the knowledge that Grenada was the *first* colony to enter into the views of government regarding melioration, and even to *precede* its *wishes* on that subject. Though I could wish that the result had been more agreeable to the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and the wishes of government, I have every allowance to make for colonial legislatures, placed in their difficult and embarassing situations; where, on one hand, they were called upon to pass laws, directly contrary to *their conviction,* &c.; on the other, to render themselves obnoxious to the displeasure of the mother country. It is to be presumed that men so situated have embraced what they considered would be the *smaller evil:* placed between Scylla and Charybdis, to escape the one they were compelled to rush upon the other.

The determinations of Jamaica and the other old colonies may now be soon expected. Should that be conformable to the wishes of the government and the country, and favourable to the whole, or the greater part of the new system, there is little doubt that Grenada and St. Vincent's will

yet follow their example. If, on the contrary, they also should reject the government bills of melioration, as in truth is now to be feared, the aspect of our colonial affairs would undoubtedly become more and more sombre, and would require all the wisdom and skill of our ablest statesmen to restore them to their former prosperity and security. Whether this could be achieved by measures of severity, or by forbearance and conciliation, would be the great question. These colonies have, for two hundred years, belonged to the British crown: in peace, they have hitherto been cherished; and in war they have fought by her side. Few of them have escaped the horrors of being repeatedly the seat of war; most of them have been the scenes of British valour, and victory; and never have they turned a deaf ear to the call to arms — never has their militia refused to fight side by side with the regular troops in defence of the nation's rights. Such has been their conduct in youth, and in maturity; and in their advanced age, their hope must still be, that, in all their rights and privileges they shall be protected and secured by the mother country. Never, it is to be hoped, can England forget that she is the mother of the colonies; or the colonies cease to remember her parental authority, and to render obedience to all her lawful commands. — If the situation of the colonists, and

of the colonial legislatures, have been difficult—as in truth it has been—not less difficult is the situation in which government will be placed, by the refusal, should it occur, of the other colonies. Firmness and conciliation may yet avert the storm—disperse the thunder-cloud before it bursts; but these are imperatively required in the further dealing with a question which Mr. Canning *well characterised* as of *fearful magnitude*, and involving *consequences* which *time* only could bring to light.

The renewal of discussions on the question of emancipation appears unavoidable.—Its agitation, however, teems with evil; and if discussion can be deferred, until men's minds shall have again become cool, it will be well for all parties, and diminish that embarrassment and ill-humour which *can* lead to no practical good, and *may* occasion much severe calamity. The question itself is surrounded with new difficulties; and to advance further, without mature consideration, may involve the whole Western Hemisphere in anarchy and confusion, and produce results, which may be too dearly purchased, even if the supremacy of the mother country be preserved.

It is truly a *question of property*. Mr. Canning has said, that the British government will *not* pass the ploughshare over the vested interests—

the possessions and the lives of the colonists, who have a right to look for indemnification against *all* the consequences of the new laws sought to be enforced on them by the parent state. To legislate wisely, there must be coolness, and a freedom from danger, as well as restored confidence between the parties. Until confidence be re-established, it is dangerous in the extreme to *proceed*, howsoever reluctant ministers and the abolitionists may be to *stand still*. To *pause* is needful, and may be beneficial; to adopt a contrary course might lead to fearful evils — perhaps to the removal of the object they pursue *beyond* their future controul.

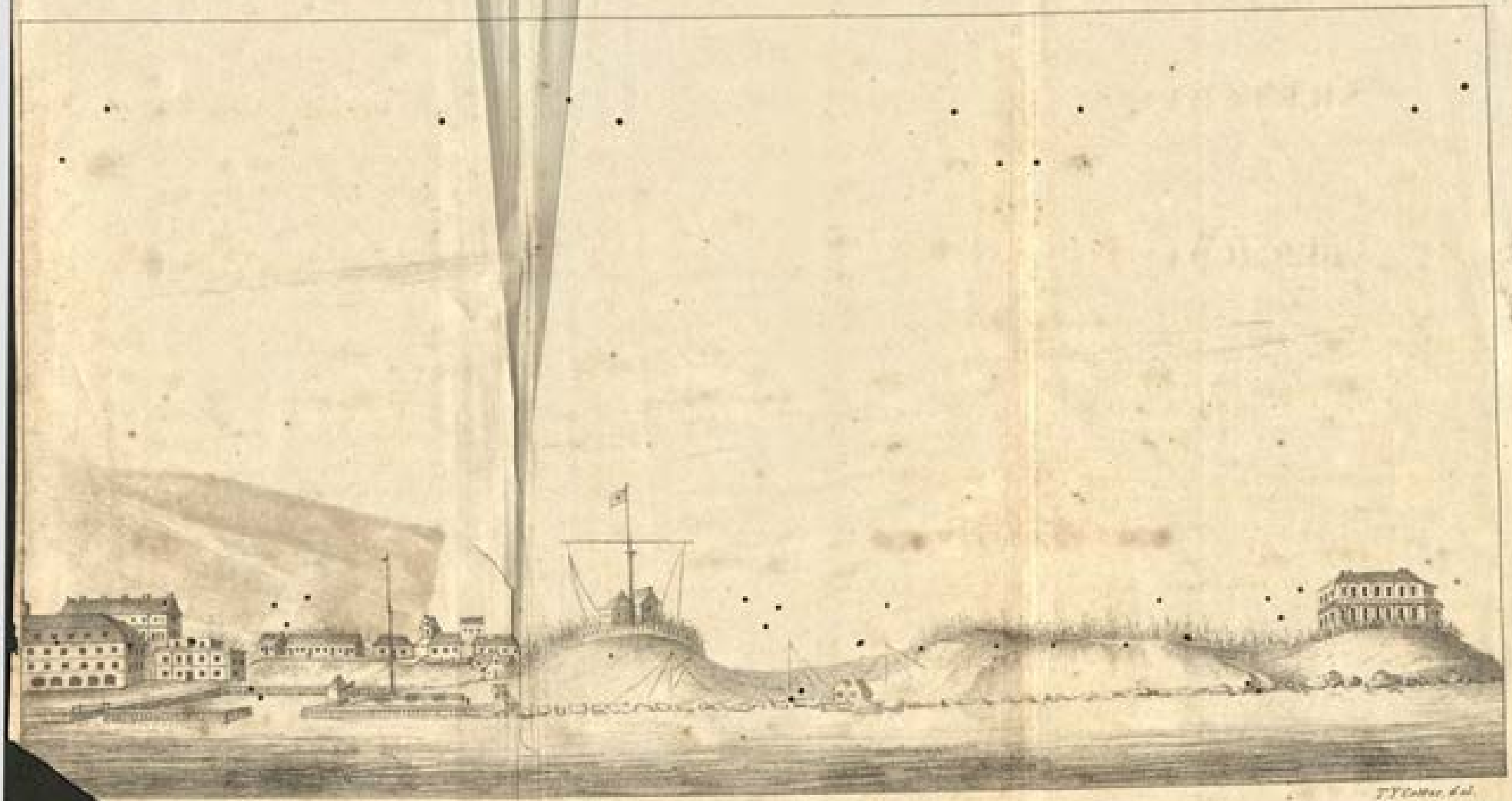
If the colonists can be induced to adopt and carry into effect the suggestions and resolutions of the British government, their fears may prove illusory. On the other hand, to carry these suggestions and resolutions into effect without the consent of the colonists, or to punish them for refusing on *conviction* to adopt them, would be deeply hazardous — would most probably occasion the loss of the colonies. It would be to array the *parent* against the child, and to set up the *slave* in opposition to his *master*. What but ruin and destruction could attend such proceedings? What but the conversion of the British colonies into scenes of bloodshed and anarchy, to

end in the loss of them to the mother country, and of every hope of civilization and improvement? It would assuredly be to convert them into the same state as St. Domingo once was, and now is; and to exchange a state of happiness and comfort, on the part of the slaves, for one of far inferior value. The loss of property to British subjects would be thus incalculable; and the value of the colonies would be justly estimated, only when gone — when torn from Britain for ever.

In the decision and management of this great question — *vital* to the interests, and to the commercial and naval greatness of the British empire — may wisdom guide, and success attend, the generous conciliatory measures of the government. Such alone can restore peace, and confidence — can alone promote the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of all ranks and colours throughout the West Indies!

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by Littlewood and Co.
15, Old Bailey.



DOCK YARD, BERMUDA.

SKETCHES

OF

BERMUDA,

OR

SOMERS' ISLANDS.

BY

RICHARD COTTER, PURSER, R.N.

London:

PUBLISHED BY EFFINGHAM WILSON,
ROYAL EXCHANGE,
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS; ALSO BY THE PRINCIPAL MAP AND CHART SELLERS.

1828.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY PLUMMER AND BREWIS, LOVE LANE, EASTCHEAP.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY,

DUKE OF CLARENCE AND ST. ANDREW'S,
EARL OF MUNSTER,
GENERAL OF MARINES,
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF GREAT BRITAIN,
K.G. K.T.K. S.E. D.C.L. & F.R.S.

THE FOLLOWING

Sketches of Bermuda, or Somers' Islands,

ARE,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS' MOST GRATEFUL,

MOST OBEDIENT,

AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

RICHARD COTTER.

PREFACE.

THE obscurity in which the Bermuda's, or Somers' Islands, have remained in point of historical facts, since they were first peopled, and my fruitless endeavours to gain information respecting that Colony, on my appointment to a public situation there, four years ago, determined me to glean all I could during a residence of that period.

I am free to confess that I had many motives in collecting all I could on a place that at first sight interested me in no trifling degree.

The friendly hospitality of the men, the mild and gentle demeanour of the women, that needed not a frown to awe the libertine to respect them, the curiosity natural to a citizen of the world, the wish to become useful to my country, and last, though not least, a desire to make my researches as advantageous as possible to my numerous family, were irresistible inducements, first to collect all the materials I could, and now to trust my feelings and my fate to a generous public.

That the work is not copious I trust my readers will attribute to no wish on my part to save myself; my maxim has always been to spare one's friends double postage when one sheet could contain all that was necessary to say: besides when one of the first writers of the age declared,

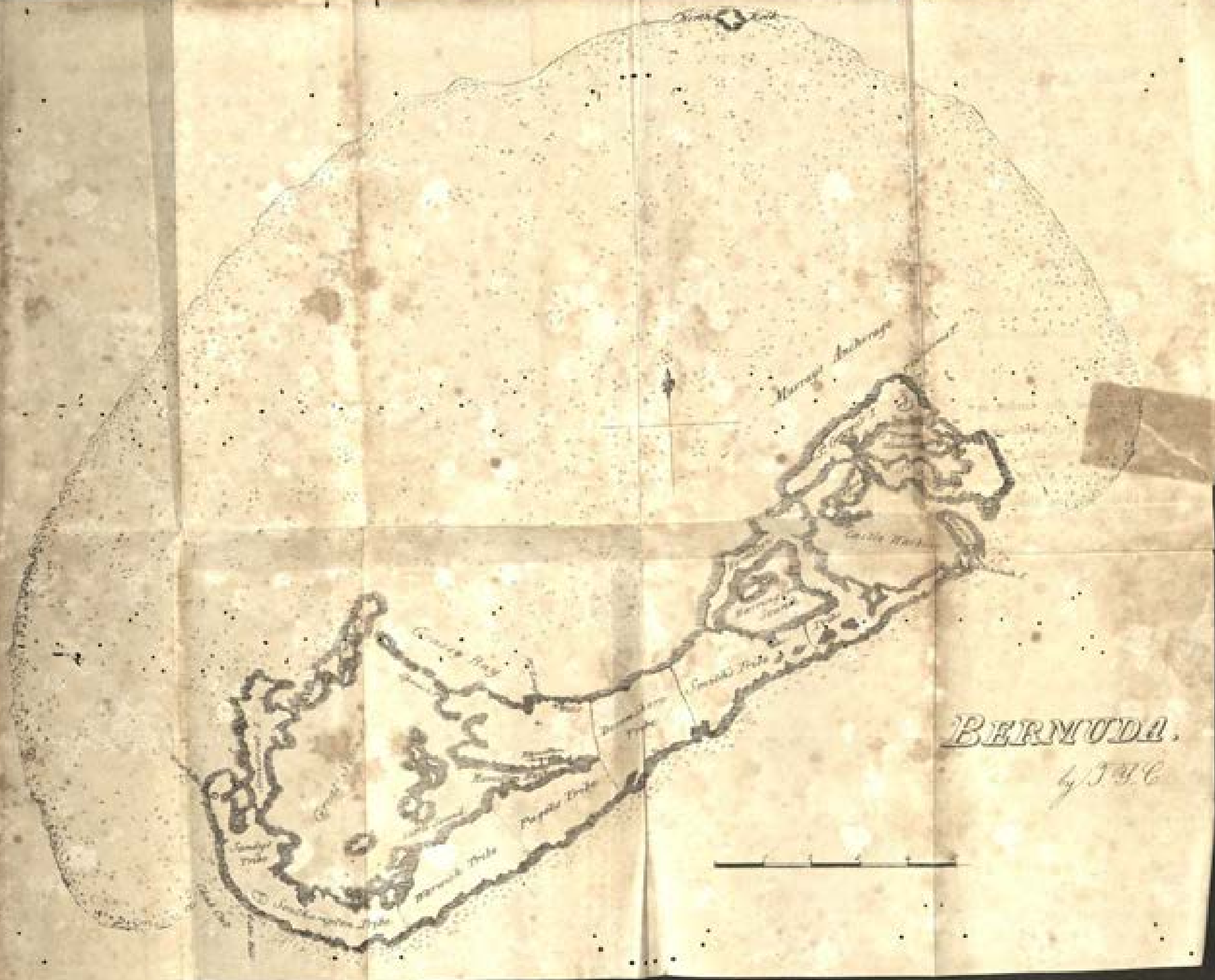
after several years residence at Bermuda, that its annals afforded nothing upon which a history could be founded, it would be great presumption in a man who has spent his life at sea to attempt swelling out those annals into a large volume.

The necessity of a work of this sort, laconic as it unavoidably is, will appear evident for many reasons, some of which are illustrated in the two following anecdotes, which will for many years be mentioned with mirth at Bermuda, as well as all other places resorted to by those acquainted with its localities.

An application was made to the Governor, from one of the principal departments in London for some bows and arrows and Spanish hammocks, as if

Bermuda, instead of being situate in the midst of the Western Ocean, formed part of South America.

In the other instance, an application was made to allow a man a shilling a-day for winding up a clock and keeping it in order; the reply was "that no such allowance could be made, but if the clock wanted repair, the officer of the department was to send for a *Clock-maker to the next town.*" Now throughout Bermuda there is not a place worthy of being called a *town*, nor any artisan who presumes to call himself a clock-maker, and if a clock-maker resided either at St. George's or Hamilton, he would not inspect the clock in question twice a-year for the sum proposed to be paid to the man living on the spot.


BERMUDA.
1746

SKETCHES

OF

THE BERMUDA,

OR

SOMERS' ISLANDS

THAT good often results from what we consider the greatest misfortune, is verified in the discovery of this interesting group of Islands.

The first Englishman who landed at Bermuda was one Henry May; he belonged to an English East Indiaman, which, on her voyage homeward, put into St. Domingo in distress, in 1593; May was dispatched

in a French vessel to acquaint the owners of his ship of her state, but wrecked at Bermuda the 17th of December in that year. There were one hundred and fifty souls on board, but they all perished except May and twenty-five Frenchmen, who contrived to get on shore in their boats. On searching about for provisions and water, they fell in with several pieces of Spanish coin and three wrecks; one of these, a Spanish ship called the Bermudas,* was wrecked on her passage from Old Spain to Cuba, whither she was taking a cargo of live hogs, many of which were found by May's party on exploring the

* It is asserted by some that these islands were named after the master of the vessel, Juan Bermudas.

islands, but in so lean a state that they were not fit to eat.

This disasterous party, with every difficulty to labour against, constructed a raft on which they proceeded to sea on the 11th of May, 1594, their sea stock consisting of thirty live turtle, a quantity of Palmetto berries in lieu of bread, and two chests of water. These chests were made water-tight, as was their raft, by a cement composed of oil and lime. On the 20th they had the good fortune to make Cape Breton, (then inhabited by savages) where they only remained four hours, to take a supply of wood and water. They proceeded thence to the banks of Newfoundland, where they met several vessels, but

none would receive them until they fell in with an English bark, bound to Falmouth, whose Captain kindly entertained them, and having in a few days met with a French ship, to which he transferred his guests of that nation, took May with him to England.

In May, 1609, Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates were sent from England with five hundred people, in nine ships, to Virginia, the Virginians having received a new Charter from King James in that year. On the 25th of July they dispersed in a hurricane, which so disabled Sir George's ship, (the Sea Adventure,) that she became so unmanageable and leaky, the people on board, one hundred and

fifty in number, gave up all idea of saving their lives, and lay down on deck, wishing each other a happier meeting in a better world. The boundless mercy of Heaven soon rewarded them for their pious resignation. Sir George, who is described as using every effort to save the ship, and with her the lives of those entrusted to his charge, discovered land from the poop; the ship soon after struck on a rock, and was driven from one to another, until she was placed in as upright a position as if she was on the stocks.

In a short time every soul was landed, where with fishing and hunting they had an ample supply of fresh and wholesome food. The hogs had so encreased since

May's time, that they killed thirty-two the first day. The adventurers found such abundance of food here that many of them did not wish to leave it, but Sir George and his principal companions thought it necessary to acquaint his friends in Virginia with his disaster, and accordingly the long boat was decked, and having been manned with eight men, and a Mr. Rouen as their commander, she sailed for Virginia, but was never heard of more. When the time had arrived that the return of the long boat might be expected, they commenced building two vessels of the cedar of the country; one was called the Patience and the other the Deliverance. While these vessels were in progress two children were born; one a boy,

was called Bermudas, the other a girl, Bermuda.

On the 10th of May, 1610, the two cedar vessels having been completed, Sir George and his companions embarked once more for Virginia, leaving behind them Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, two offenders, who fled to the woods to escape punishment.

It would appear that previously to the shipwreck of Sir George Somers at Bermuda, Captain Smith, then Governor of Virginia, had caused two savages to be landed there, named Namuntack and Matchamps; these two having quarrelled, Matchamps slew the other. The hole

which the murderer made to bury his victim in being too short, he cut off his legs and laid them by his side. All this was done with so much secrecy that the murderer was not even suspected, until he confessed his horrid crime at Virginia.

The two little cedar vessels, about thirty tons each, having arrived at Virginia in fourteen days, Sir George intended returning to England, but the Governor being desirous of having some of the hogs from Bermuda, Sir George, fearing the execution of that service might be assigned to one less skilful than himself, became a volunteer on the occasion, and accordingly he set sail on the 19th of June. His voyage was tedious, and so boisterous that

he died of fatigue soon after his arrival, on that part of Bermuda where the town of St. George now stands. His faithful and much attached companions conveyed his body to Whitchurch in Dorsetshire.

In the year 1619, Captain Nathaniel Butler, then Governor of Bermuda, caused a marble monument to be erected on the spot where his heart and intestines were buried, with the following inscription:

"In the year ———————— 1611,
Noble Sir John Somers went hence to Heaven,
Whose noble well-tried worth that held him still employed,
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide;
Hence, 'twas by Heaven's desire that to this place
He brought new guests and name to mutual grace,
At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart."

Captain Mathew Somers, nephew of Sir George, and companion of his voyages, accompanied his remains to England; but although the accounts they gave of the Bermuda or Somers' Islands so clearly corresponded with May's narration, few in England believed there were such islands. The Colonists of Virginia having no doubt as to that point, a company was formed, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, sixty of whom proceeded to Bermuda, where they found Carter and Waters, who deserted from Sir George Somers, and another man, named Chard, who preferred remaining at Bermuda to going to England in the vessel that took home the body of their kind old leader. These men had contrived to

grow a good stock of corn, and collected a quantity of ambergris. Mr. Richard More, a Carpenter by trade, was appointed by the Virginia company Governor of this New Colony; he devoted his whole time to the erection of fortifications, so that the people had not time to provide food, and a famine was the consequence; a ship that brought some meal to relieve the poor sufferers introduced so many rats that they have become a curse to the islands to this day.

Their doubts in England as to the existence of Bermuda having been dispelled, many supplies of men and provisions were sent out during the three years government of More. Several

West India plants were introduced, many of which succeeded to the utmost extent of their hopes; and at this period an English Company appears to have laid claim to Bermuda, the ambergris having proved too great a temptation to resist. More, from the sparing manner in which he supplied them with provisions, incurred their displeasure, which together with his not feeling himself popular at Bermuda, induced him to leave the government in the hands of six persons (among whom were Carter and Waters) and proceed to England.

The six, who ruled one month each in rotation, were succeeded by Captain Daniel Tucker in 1616; he soon turned his mind

to the divisions of the land, and parted it into eight tribes or companies, each tribe into fifty shares, and each share containing thirty acres. In this work he was assisted by Mr. Richard Norwood, a Surveyor. St. George's, St. David's, Cooper's, Longbird, Smith's and Nonsuch Islands, and a part of the main, or Bermuda Island, together with several small island, were not included in these tribes, but reserved for public uses, and called general land.

The Archives of the Colony present nothing worthy of notice after this period, and tradition hands down no more than the quarrels between a long succession of Governors and the people.

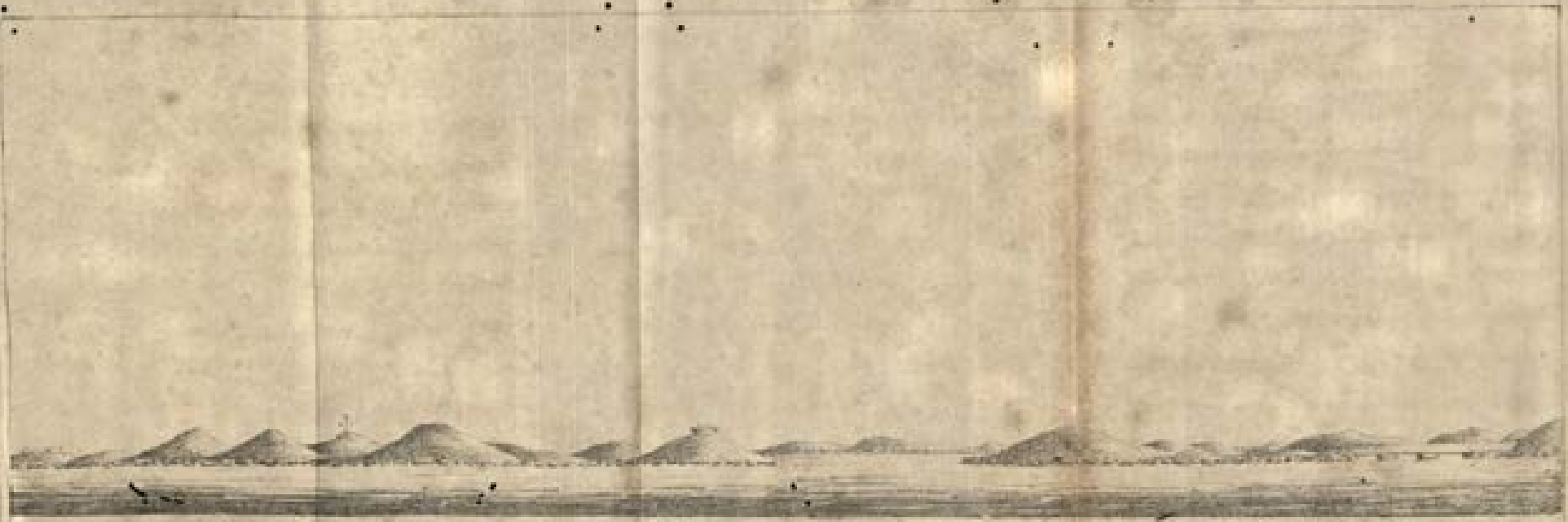
The geographical position of the Colony is latitude 32° 25′ north, and longitude 64° 44′ west. Its extreme length from St. Catherine's point, on the island of St. George's, to the west extremity of Bermuda, (or the Main, as the natives call it) is not more than twenty miles, but the road continues round the Great Sound to the north east point of Somerset, making the distance twenty-four miles. The greatest breadth from north to south, by land, is about a mile and half. The Colony contains about 12,161 acres.

No stranger of common prudence would attempt any of the anchorages without a Pilot, many of whom are always on the look out, and put to sea when a vessel heaves in sight.

In December, 1824, some vessels were discovered off Bermuda, when James Forbes, a black man, and one of the principal Pilots, imagining it was the Admiral with the squadron from Halifax, put to sea. Ere he could reach any ship a gale came on, which increased as the night advanced; before morning he lost his mast, and had the additional distress of being driven out of sight of land, without quadrant, compass, provisions or water, (except a few pieces of pork) with three other blacks on board. They having saved the wreck of their mast, which was carried away at the partners, were employed all day (in consequence of a deficiency of implements) in placing it in the step, and by reefing their sail reduced it to the

hoist their jury mast admitted. Thus rigged, they sailed about, quite ignorant of the direction of the place whence they had been driven. Several days had elapsed before they saw any vessel, but they made the best of their way to the first they saw, (about the fifth day;) they came in such a "questionable shape" that the stranger fled: in this way were they tantalized for nearly a fortnight, between Bermuda and America, the trading vessels they got sight of taking them for pirates.

The Bermudian boats are of a peculiar construction and rig—they are of a light draught of water forward, but have what is called a long heel or deep sternpost, and are rigged with one mast and bow-



MURRAY'S ANCHORAGE BERMUDA.

sprit, carrying a triangular mainsail, a foresail and jib, and occasionally a gaff topsail and square sail. Reduced to the necessity of chewing lead to keep up the moisture in the mouth, which nature required, they were on the point of resigning themselves to that fate which seemed inevitable, when Providence brought them in contact with a vessel that gave them succour.

The greatest anxiety prevailed at Bermuda, as to the fate of this disastrous boat and her crew. Forbes was a man past the climax of life, and considered the best Pilot in the place; and when he made his appearance at the end of three weeks, the pleasure depicted in every countenance

when his return was mentioned, could not be greater if he was the first man in the Colony. The Admiral, who arrived two days after Forbes had been driven off the islands, sent vessels in all directions to pick him up; the Governor also showed a strong feeling in his favour, and the Commissioner, with a most laudable intention of setting the poor fellow's mind at rest, gave orders that his boat should be refitted at the public expence. Poor Forbes and one of his men were severely visited by sickness, occasioned by their loss of rest, food and water for so long a period, and the consequent anxiety which people in their sitnation may be supposed to feel. The age of Forbes was between fifty and sixty.

The principal places of anchorage are, St. George's Harbour with a bar, over which there are, at high water, spring tides, nineteen feet, but deep enough within that for ships of any burthen; Murray's Anchorage, extending from St. Catherine's Point to the Ferry; the entrance to which is very intricate, but is well marked with buoys; this is the channel to Grassy Bay, off the Dock Yard in Ireland Island, the general rendezvous for His Majesty's Ships, and also Hamilton, situated at the head of the Little Sound.

Castle Harbour was formerly the rendezvous for our ships of war, until a privateer under American colours, (in the revolutionary war) commanded by a Ber-

mudian, had tauntingly sent a challenge to the Cerberus Frigate, knowing that she could not get out without great risk, when the Captain, unable to bear such impudence any longer, got his ship under weigh, contrary to the advice of the Pilot. The frigate, in endeavouring to get out, struck on a rock, and became a total wreck, which was the cause of discontinuing this as an anchorage for His Majesty's ships.

Ships may approach within a mile of the land on the south side, there being no hidden danger, but on the north side there is a reef of coral, about three leagues from land, extending from the North Rock. Bearing north from St. Catherine's Point

to the western extremity of the Colony; there is, however, a passage through, a-breast a Point called Wreck Hill, in Somerset Parish, which is only frequented by vessels of light draught of water. There is also a passage near the North Rock, but which is never resorted to except in cases of great necessity.

Many skilful Mariners and Pilots are of opinion that Grassy Bay is not well chosen as an anchorage for His Majesty's ships; the channel from St. Catherine's Point is almost daily reduced in width and depth of water, owing to the influx of sea weed into the Great Sound, and the rapid growth of coral. What it has already cost to form one hundred yards

of the intended breakwater, would cut away sufficient of the bar of St. George's Harbour, and form piers from St. George's and Paget's Islands, so as to enable a ship of any force to get to sea in less than a hour; whereas ships (the Ganges and Superb for instance) have been detained several days, in consequence of the wind not answering to enable them to get through the intricate channel from Murray's anchorage. Some are of opinion that a passage might be cut into Harrington Sound from Murray's anchorage, near the flats; the distance is not more than five hundred yards, and the ships would get at once into a lake seven miles in circumference, with fifteen fathoms water, and situated in the heart of the

Colony. This would not avoid the ordeal of the entrance off St. Catherine's Point, but one great object would be attained by its being a check to an invading army, as it covers the land which passes from one end of the Colony to the other. There is but one visible channel for the flux and reflux of the tide at this lake, situated at the Flat's Bridge; this bridge consists of three stone piers, the extremes about thirty feet apart, with planks laid from one to the other, to connect the roads at each side. People unacquainted with the various and extensive caves with which Bermuda abounds, would be at a loss to account for the variance in the tides at the springs and neaps; the former, which rise in every other part of the shores of

the Colony five feet, only rise twenty-three inches in Harrington Sound, and the latter only three inches; when outside they rise four feet. It may, therefore, be inferred that the subterraneous passage, probably from Castle Harbour, which lies to the southward and eastward of this lake, is above the reach of neap tides.* There are four islands in Harrington sound that require little expence to fortify.

One would almost suppose that Shakespeare had visited Bermuda before he

* There are four lakes in the neck of land that bounds Harrington Sound to the southward, in which the ebb and flow of the tide is evident, although there is no visible communication with the sea.

had fixed upon it as the scene of his Tempest; at first sight it appears a perfect fairy land, but this enchantment does not last long, and the curious, tired of gazing on the leafless evergreen cedar, the barren rock, and various sheets of salt water, teeming with fish, corresponding in variety of denominations with the four hundred islands said to compose the Colony, descend to the regions below, to gratify their curiosity, in viewing, by torch-light, the freaks of nature in the formation of the varied interstices, stalactites and stalagmites with which the caves abound.

The caves at an estate called Walsingham are considered the best in the

Colony, and the scenery of that and a neighbouring estate, called Paynter Vale, on the south east margin of Harrington Sound, are allowed to be the most picturesque in Bermuda. The shade of the Calabash Tree, noticed in the writings of our celebrated poet Moore, and which time only appears to have improved, is still the resting place of the pic nic parties from St. George's and other parts of the Colony.

It has become too much the fashion amongst the officers of the various branches of the public service to ridicule the Bermudians, after partaking of their hospitality, but the latter are not inferior in any particular to the people of the

mother country; the women are as chaste and as fair, and the men as clever, as friendly, and as hospitable too in proportion to their relative means. It is true, that owing to the relaxation consequent to a warm climate, added to the expensiveness of apparel, the ladies do not find it convenient *to be at home* at all times to receive idle visitors, but at the Governor's parties, public balls, and amateur plays, they are neatly dressed, and each lady may claim the merit of being her own dress-maker.

The men of business are shrewd and well informed, many of them have acquired their knowledge of trade in America, the mode of that country being better suited

to the limited traffic of Bermuda, than the broad scale upon which the mercandize of England is conducted.

The visit of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, in 1826, gave great satisfaction. His Lordship consecrated all the churches and burial grounds, and confirmed such as were disposed and qualified, without any distinction of colour. His dignity of demeanour, urbanity of manners, and impressive and persuasive discourses, stamped on the hearts of the Bermudians a veneration and respect that will not be soon forgotten.

The Church Establishment at Bermuda is composed of one archdeacon, four

rectors, and one curate, exclusive of the chaplain of the dock yard and convicts.

The Bermudians are very tenacious of what they consider their Rights and Privileges. On one occasion, a favourite preacher had exchanged duties, for only one Sunday, with a brother rector, but either through mistake or otherwise did not apprise his parishioners of it, and the stranger had the mortification to see, in a few minutes after he commenced the morning service, his congregation dwindle down to the parish clerk and one old woman. At the evening service he was treated in the same way at a neighbouring church, each rector having to attend two churches.

They give great encouragement to competent Schoolmasters from England; they ensure them £200 currency per annum, with ten pounds for each scholar above the number of twenty; this liberal plan has brought several clever men amongst them, many of whom have been admitted to Holy Orders.

A house has been erected in the centre of the Colony, with an intention of forming a finishing academy, but the want of unanimity amongst the heads of families of the better class, for whose children it was intended, prevented the fulfilment of the design, and the house is now fast approaching to decay.

All the offices connected with the jurisprudence of the country are wisely confided to native gentlemen, who have been educated in England. The Chief Justice, the Attorney General, and several barristers, all eminent in their respective situations, are Bermudians.

Although all the blacks, and some of the lower order of whites, are prone to petty thieving, such as stealing poultry, fruit and vegetables; capital offences are very rare. A case, however, under very aggravated circumstances, has occurred lately. A man of general bad character, whose son had been committed to jail for an assault, (he having refused to give bail) worked himself up for several days

to a most wrathful spirit of revenge, and having armed himself with a dirk and pistol, proceeded after nightfall to the house of the committing magistrate, a medical officer of the garrison at St. George's, who having been providentially put on his guard a few minutes before the arrival of the assassin, avoided the destruction intended for him, and the wretch thus disappointed was returning toward the jail, when unfortunately meeting with Mr. Folger, an Englishman, and a much respected merchant of St. George's, who was married to the sister-in-law of the first intended victim; the murderer, after using some abusive language, placed a pistol, loaded with powder and small shot, so close to Mr. Folger's side, that in dis-

CALABASH TREE, WALSINGHAM.

charging it the coat, waistcoat, and shirt of the unfortunate victim, who died in the prime of life a few hours after, were burnt; immediately after this horrid act, the murderer, on passing Mrs. Folger, (who was aware of her husband's danger, and looking out from the veranda of her house,) exclaimed, exultingly, "I have done for him." Although all these circumstances were fully proved before a jury, by several respectable witnesses, the jury, (after a most impartial trial, and the Chief Justice's charge, in which nothing was omitted that could favour the prisoner's case,) were five hours before they could come to an unanimous verdict: that was, of course, to the prisoner, an awful verdict; but the laws of Bermuda not allowing

sentence to be passed, even in cases of murder, until the expiration of a certain number of days after the termination of the sessions, the wretch remained in awful and hopeless suspense during that period. Soon after he expiated his horrid crime on a temporary gallows, erected on the spot where poor Folger fell by his hand. The infrequency of capital punishments procrastinated the misery of this wretched culprit. The Provost Martial was under the necessity of giving one hundred dollars to a mulatto fellow to perform the duty of hangman, and the solemnity of the procession from the jail to the place of execution (about three hundred yards) was considerably lessened by the attendance of the executioner in female attire,

and not before he divested himself of his gloves and mask, could he put the unfortunate wretch out of misery. Another case, revolting to human nature, has just occurred. A black man, who has passed for a female for the last ten years at St. George's, has been found guilty, and only awaits the usual period to have the awful sentence of the law pronounced against him.

The infrequency of sudden death by conflict or suicide, is evinced in the following tradition. A few years ago a coroner's jury was held to decide on the case of a man, who met his death in consequence of having received, in a quarrel, a blow from a sledge hammer, in a black-

smith's forge at Hamilton. The man died in two days after having received the blow, but such cases were so novel that the jurors were at a loss to form a verdict, when the coroner (a schoolmaster near Hamilton) drew from his pocket a mutilated paper, the rough draught of an inquest held on a gentleman who had been found drowned in a cave at Port Royal Parish (the sea communicates with all the caves at Bermuda.) The inquisitors copied this instrument verbatim, except changing the name of the defunct, and pronounced the man who had come by his death in consequence of the quarrel at a blacksmith's shop at Hamilton, as "found drowned in Bassett's Cave."

The Laws of Bermuda are regulated and enacted by the Governor and Council, and the House of Assembly. They originate with the latter, but the Council have the veto vested in them, and being created by the breath of the Governor, of course no Act can pass into a law without His Excellency's full approval. The Colony being divided into nine parishes, each parish sends four members to the House of Assembly, and the Governor has the power of dissolving this Senate whenever he pleases; in short it is like all our other Colonial Governments. The Members of the House of Assembly are allowed two dollars a-day, while in attendance at their post. There is a story told of a member, who was a boat-builder,

and being anxious to make the most of his time, hauled up a boat that he had to repair as close to the Senate House as possible, upon which he used to go to work, leaving word with the man in attendance at the door of the house, to call him when any question came to the vote, but in the event of his being too late, he would vote at the same side with a member whose name he mentioned.

There are but two small Towns (St. George's and Hamilton) in Bermuda, each of which have a Mayor and other Civic Officers. The former was the Capital until the government of Sir James Cockburn, when the business of the Senate and Courts of Justice was removed

to Hamilton, which, from its central position, is much more conveniently situated for the Law Officers, the Members of the House of Assembly, and Jurymen, as may be seen by the map. The inhabitants, to mark their sense of the kind consideration of Sir James, voted him a present of four thousand pounds, but such was the delicacy of His Excellency, that he would not accept it until sanctioned by the Government at home.

There is a great want of taste displayed in the architecture of Bermuda, even in their two little towns; the houses remind one of an unorganized Corps of American Militia, where men of every stature take their stations indiscriminately. The coun-

try houses are still more shapeless and disproportioned, the mode being to build merely what is indispensibly necessary at first, and adding a room for every increase of the family, producing often a pile as shapeless as that occasioned by the eruption of a volcano; and to crown all, an appendage, which is hid with great care in England, has the most conspicuous situation on the premises of a Bermudian, almost invariably terminating in a ball at the top, which is usually painted yellow.

A little to the westward of Hamilton is a house, which the midshipmen of the squadron have designated the Almshouse, from its resemblance to the long ranges

of building under that name in our country towns in England; and at the opposite side of the harbour is a house which they have christened the cruet-stand, from its similitude in shape, or rather shapelessness, to that useful article of furniture. This must have been devised by the owner in derision of the people of some other country, as the Bermudians have neither vinegar nor cayenne in their composition, and a stranger who does not meet kind treatment from them has to blame himself only.

Bermuda abounds in Limestone, in many places mixed with marine shells, of which with their underwood they make excellent lime at a cheap rate, and with

the facility of getting timber from our North American Colonies, and the soft or sand stone, veins of which are to be found every where in Bermuda, enables them to run up a house speedily at little expence. Strangers are amused at seeing a Bermudian mason using a saw and hatchet in making a stone wall. This stone is cut out with pick axes, in large square blocks, and afterwards sawed into lesser ones to suit the intended work.

There are a few wells at Bermuda but no fresh water streams; the water from these wells is very brackish, and does not agree with Europeans. Every house has a tank attached to it, the roof acting as a

conductor in the rainy season. These tanks are sounded after a shower, and the increase is always a subject of congratulation between the old dames, which proves a source of mirth to our young naval punsters. Many of the respectable inhabitants are so kind as to have an extra tank, from which they supply their indigent neighbours in times of scarcity. There is a strange inconsistency in the mode of supplying the navy with water; a place is enclosed near Mount Langton, (the general residence of the Governor, who has another house at St. George's, little resorted to) about a mile from Hamilton, called the Wells; these wells are sunk considerably under low water mark, and consequently the water is very

unwholesome, but is supplied His Majesty's Ships when the military tank at St. Catherine's Point runs short. The expence of the floating tank, which conveys this water for one year, would form a tank in Ireland Island, with pipes and wharfs, sufficiently extensive to supply any fleet we shall ever have at Bermuda, and save the lives of several valuable seamen who are on this service employed in an intricate navigation of fourteen miles and back.

A superb mansion has lately been erected for the Naval Commissioner, but in a place like Bermuda, where there is not a house of public entertainment fit for the reception of a gentleman, and the extensive acquaintance which an officer

might be supposed to form before he can arrive at that rank, a house of such extent exposes him to expences beyond the income allowed.

Although the communications between the different islands and parts of Bermuda are generally, and in the former cases necessarily, by water, the roads are tolerably good. In the heavy rains they are partially inundated in the little vallies, but in a few hours become as hard and dry as ever. A muddy road is unknown here.

There are three signal stations, one at St. George's, (the head quarters,) another at Mount Langton, and the other at

Gibbs' Hill, at each of which a small party of soldiers is stationed. There is also a Flag Staff at the Commissioner's House in the Dock Yard, which communicates with Mount Langton, and through that with the other two stations.

A detachment of engineers, and two companies of the line, are stationed on Ireland Island.

The population of Bermuda is between nine and ten thousand souls, (if negroes have souls, and one is apt to be of uncle Toby's opinion, that "it would be putting one sadly over the head of another if they had not,") something more than half of this number are whites, of whom nearly

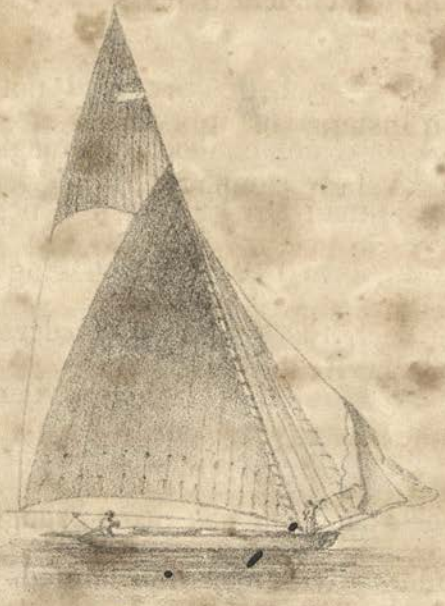
two-thirds are females. This may be accounted for in part from the men, who are of an enterprising spirit, being often obliged to risk their lives in crazy little vessels, badly manned and indifferently navigated, to the West Indies and different parts of America, in search of a field for industry in a commercial line, which their little Colony does not afford.

The attachment of the women does not die with their husbands; there are many instances where a lady, widowed in the prime of youth, rejects every offer of conjugal consolation, however advantageous, during the rest of her life.

The negro population of Bermuda (all

natives) is distressing to their owners, as well as to the Colony in general, and the prohibition of sending them to the West India Islands falls heavily on them, inasmuch as the owners are obliged to have recourse to America for live stock, flour, India corn, and corn meal for their maintenance; added to which, the arrival of seven hundred convicts for the public works, threw back upon their (in several instances) helpless owners, many of this ill-fated race of our species.

Many of the females of Bermuda have no other property than a place to live in and a few slaves, left them by their deceased relatives. There being little field work, the black children being che-



rished as property, are brought up in the house of their mothers' owners, and become playmates to the owners' children; this creates an attachment that lasts through life.

An instance of this occurred not long ago. A lady complained to a magistrate of a negro man having struck a negress, (a fellow slave;) the case having been fully proved, the magistrate ordered the delinquent to be punished, when the mistress exclaimed in agony, "what! flog my poor Jem, who has been brought up from infancy with me," and fainted. The female slave joined her supplications to the silent but powerful eloquence of the mistress, and Jem of course had his punishment remitted.

Of the twelve thousand acres which Bermuda is said to contain, two thousand might be brought into cultivation if there was less veneration for cedar trees, and a trifling exertion made to drain or embank the marshes, whereas at present there are not two hundred acres disturbed by the spade or the plough; indeed there is but one plough in the Colony, and that belongs to an Englishman named Winsor, who has proved what could be made of ground apparently barren.

A Bill was brought forward in the early part of the Sessions of 1827, proposing a bounty for the growth of the several sorts of grain, by John Walker,

Esq. a most active and patriotic colonist, but was lost in its progress.

The facility of receiving supplies from America, has too long made the Bermudians regardless of internal resources; and the produce of the soil, even with the quick succession and perpetual vegetation, will not keep pace with the active mind of a man accustomed from boyhood to the more quick returns of commercial speculations.

Thus the agriculture of Bermuda has been neglected, but it is hoped that the ill-judged spirit of restriction adopted by the Americans, will bring the Bermudians to a just appreciation of the

resources which Nature has blessed them with.

There is scarcely any thing in the vegetable way which Bermuda cannot produce; it is very fertile in the growth of esculent plants and roots, such as potatoes, onions, cabbages, carrots, turnips, peas, French beans, &c.; also pumpkins and melons, which grow here in great perfection, but the luxuriance with which they grow renders them more susceptible of the transient but blighting winds of the climate, particularly if not fenced to guard against such winds, which is seldom the case. The grubs too become so numerous after a hot summer that they are very destructive of succulent

plants; however the rapidity of vegetation atones for all these impediments, and the cultivator will find his account in persevering. There being no means of preserving the potatoes and onions of Bermudian growth after they have ceased to grow, such as are not consumed during the progress of their growth are exported to the West Indies, and the Colony is dependant on America until the next season for the supply of those very necessary articles of food. The potatoes are rendered unfit for store by their early and constant vegetation, which often takes place before the cultivator thinks them ripe; but the speedy decay of the onions may be accounted for by the practice of transplanting them when they first begin

to form a bulb, which occasions them to throw out the seeding tube, thereby destroying the stamina necessary for their keeping from a state of decay even for a few weeks. This mode of cultivation, however, renders them of a much milder nature than the onions grown in England.

The citron, sour orange, lemon and lime grow here spontaneously in great luxuriance, but the apple and the peach come to no perfection for want of the skilful use of the pruning knife. The climate is well adapted to the growth of grapes, but the Bermudians are too sparing of the knife to be good horticulturists, and are almost entirely indebted to Nature for the produce of the soil.

The castor, aloe, jalap, and several other medicinal plants grow here in great perfection without the aid of cultivation. They grow a great quantity of arrowroot, which is admitted to be of superior quality to that produced in any other place. Coffee, indigo, cotton and tobacco, also grow here without culture.

Almost all the occupiers of land sow a small quantity of barley, but in getting in their harvest they seem to scorn the copying system; neither scythe nor sickle are in use, but an old woman (generally a black) is furnished with a basket, and a pair of scissors of equal standing in the family with herself: thus equipped, she proceeds to cut off the ears of Barley,

and in the course of time she has the satisfaction to see a *whole road of barley* reduced to headless straw, which is soon converted into bonnets. Europeans are highly amused on witnessing this novel mode of farming. Their method of preparing the barley is by boiling it into a thick jelly, which they call barley broth, having first deprived it of its husks in a mortar.

If the English Merchants find their account in fitting ships for the Whale Fishery in the South Seas and off Greenland, it must prove a profitable employment at Bermuda, where the expence of equipment is comparatively trifling, the greater number forming the crews of the

whale boats being the property of the proprietors of the fishery. One good fish covers the expences of the season, and sometimes they are fortunate enough to take six, or more. The season commences in March and ends in June. The capital required is too small to prevent competition. Two boats with the necessary geer, a furnace to reduce the blubber to oil, and the necessary number of casks, which are very cheap here, forming the principal part of the equipment. On the south side of the Colony the whales approach within a mile of the land, and during the season men are stationed on the cliffs to give intimation when a whale appears. This huge fish seldom appears singly; the female and her young one (a

little baby about forty feet in length) are always together, and the experienced whalers invariably strive to strike the young one first, as the dam never forsakes it while any appearance of life remains, and almost on every occasion falls a victim to her maternal affection. When a whale is killed the boats tow it, if not prevented by unfavourable weather, as close to the shore as possible; the shore is lined by black people of both sexes and all ages; the men assist in cutting off the blubber, taking care to help themselves and friends to all the fleshy parts,* which they uncover; the noise and confusion is beyond description, women and children calling,

* This is called in Bermuda "sea beef."

to the operators, who from time to time throw large pieces of the flesh on shore, but sometimes it falls short, when a simultaneous rush is made into the water, the scramble becomes a scuffle, and heavy blows are often exchanged. In a few hours, a whale approaching to sixty feet in length is reduced to a skeleton, and scarcely a house, whether occupied by whites or blacks, where a treat of whale beef does not take place that day or the next. The English have a strong prejudice against this food, but they soon get over that, particularly when the flesh is that of a young whale; the Bermudians have a method of cleansing it, which leaves no fishy flavour, and it is as tender as veal. Should the whalers be obliged

to moor the fish at sea, they seldom have any further trouble with it, as the sharks, which are in great abundance in that season, generally devour it before morning. The produce in oil from each whale is from thirty to sixty barrels, which is sold from a quarter to half a dollar per gallon, according to the produce of the season.

The great variety and abundance of fish is considered by some the reverse of a blessing, as it draws off the attention of the lower orders from the cultivation of the soil. The better sort of people, and a few provident fishermen, have ponds which they stock in summer for winter supply, but the lower order of whites are

the most miserable of the human creation. When they catch fish, they reserve as much as will sustain nature as long as the price of what they sell will produce rum enough to keep them in a state of intoxication, using neither bread nor vegetables; their wives and children live on the bounty of the ladies of their respective neighbourhoods, who are without exception kind-hearted and charitable. These fishermen live in hovels or old ruins, and are little encumbered with cloathing.

It would be an endless task to attempt a description of the numerous sorts of fish with which the shores of Bermuda abound, they are almost all of fine flavour and very rich; the principal are the rock

fish, grouper, hog fish, red and grey snappers, amber-fish, mullet, angel-fish, and paugye or porkie. The grouper has three distinct denominations, first hamlet, when weighing three or four pounds; next hamlet grouper, when half grown, and finally grouper, when arrived at its full growth, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds. The grey snapper is called the mudian lawyer, from their caution in avoiding hook and line, but the natives sometimes succeed in making them tipsy, by throwing amongst a school of them small fry well saturated with rum; when once off their guard they snap at every thing and are easily caught. Many small turtle are caught here during the summer, and are sold at a moderate rate

in comparison with the price of beef and mutton.

Bermuda, until the restriction of trade in 1826, derived all its supplies of oxen and sheep from the United States of America, but since that period the Bermudians have in part imitated the mode used by the Americans in naturalizing British subjects, and without the process of rocking the ox in a cradle, naturalize them in droves by driving them over the boundary into our North American dominions, and thence shipping them for our insulated Colonies.

The American Farmer has no other mart for the disposal of his surplus pro-

duce but our Colonies in the Western Archipelago, hence the restriction in commerce must press more heavily on the American citizens than on our Colonists; but this mode of supply is attended with greater expence, inasmuch as the Americans are cheaper carriers than the English.

Bermuda produces fresh butter and milk sufficient to meet the demand for those articles, but they do not rear more cattle than what are merely necessary to keep up their stock, killing the calves when about two months old. Except with a few who can afford to enclose their grounds, the cattle of Bermuda are tethered on the pasture; even hogs and goats can

range no farther than the length of their strings, the Bermudians being very jealous of trespassers. They rear but few sheep, there being scarcely any enclosure in the country capable of restraining the roving propensity of those animals. The country is very productive in the propagation of every species of domestic poultry except geese, which do not thrive here, although several have been introduced at various times from America. A few wild geese are sometimes driven thither in the winter gales; wild ducks are more numerous, but the grey plover visit Bermuda every September in great numbers. The quail of America, the red bird or Virginia nightingale, the blue bird, kingfisher, black or mocking bird, ground dove, tropic bird,

and a small species of wild pigeon are become natives of Bermuda. The red bird is so destructive to gardens and barley patches, that an Act of the Legislature was passed a few years ago, offering a reward of ten-pence for each head, but the blue bird not being graniverous is revered as the Robin is in England.

The possession of Bermuda, as the key of all our Western Colonies, is of the first importance to England, for if a foe of any maritime strength had possession of it, our trade would be exposed to much annoyance, if not to total destruction.

It is a mistaken notion that Bermuda cannot produce sufficient of all the

necessaries of life to support its population, even with its redundancy of blacks, if proper exertions were made to cultivate the soil, but it may be repeated that with half its present number of negroes the Colony would be more prosperous.

Bermuda being in the same parallel of latitude as Madeira, people are apt to consider it, without trial, as healthy as that Island, but a few years residence will convince an Europeon of its fallacy. The atmosphere, in south-west winds, which are the prevailing ones, is very dense and damp, and if the constitution contains a germ of disease, it is sure to manifest itself; the rheumatic, the gouty,

and those affected in the liver or lungs, are soon obliged to change their climate, or reconcile themselves to a speedy dissolution.

The Colony is sometimes visited with the yellow fever, which often makes great havoc among the inhabitants, and the typhus is of late an annual visitor. The governors and natives have been at issue on the question, whether the yellow fever is indigenous to the climate or imported, the Governors being invariably of the latter opinion.

Few autumns pass without hurricanes of more or less violence, which are too well known to require description.

An interesting account of the proceedings of the Convict Establishment at Bermuda, including the Dock Yard, being in a state of progress for the press, it is deemed improper to touch upon those subjects in this little work.

FINIS.

Plummer and Brewis, Printers, Love Lane, Eastcheap.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016